DETERMINANTS OF BATTERED WOMEN'S DESTINATION
FOLLOWING A SHELTER EXPERIENCE

By

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This dissertation is dedicated in loving memory
to my parents, Assunta (Susie) Cini DeMark and
Charles Domenick DeMark, who inspired and nurtured
my educational dreams.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPENDICES

LIST OF TABLES

Abstract of Dissertation Presented to the Graduate School of
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The purpose of this study was to examine seven poten-
tial determinants of battered women's destination following
shelter experience. The variables were drawn from previous
research and the psychodynamic theory of Alice Miller. It
was hypothesized that battered women who did not return to
their abusers would be characterized as less authoritarian,
less monitoring of others, have less chance and powerful
others locus of control, greater internal locus of control,
greater resources, and have left their mates more often
previous to this shelter visit than battered women who
returned to their abusers.

Questionnaires were completed by 72 women during their
stay at one of five southern U.S. shelters, three in Georgia
and two in Florida. Of the sample, 30 returned to their
abusers and 42 did not.

The results indicated no significant differences (p > .05) between those women who had not returned to their abusers and those women who had. A logistic regression analysis identified no significant relationship between the determinants and battered women's destination.

Selected demographics also were collected and, where potential effects were suggested, chi-square analyses were conducted. Nonwhite battered women were less likely to return to batterers than were their white counterparts. Also battered women from small towns were more likely to return to cohabitation with the batterers, and as population of residence previous to sheltering increased, battered women were less likely to return to their mates. The researcher recommended development of specialized instrumentation to operationalize Miller's theory and further investigation of (a) race and city size of battered woman's residence for relationship to destination, (b) battered women's perceptions about authority, and (c) battered women as a heterogenous grouping.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In the past decade, domestic violence, particularly spouse abuse, has been brought increasingly to the public's attention. What was once considered an unspoken family issue, condoned and encouraged by society, is now deemed a social problem (Dobash & Dobash, 1971; Roy, 1977; Stacey & Shupe, 1983; Straus, 1977-78). Considered as one representation of violence against women, spouse abuse was initially addressed through the impetus of the feminist movement. In an effort to better understand, treat, and ameliorate the problem of conjugal assault, a host of disciplines and groups, including helping professionals and feminists, have undertaken the charge to research the problem (Fleming, 1979; Hansen & Barnhill, 1982; Hilberman, 1980; NiCarthy, Merriam, & Coffman, 1984; Walker, 1979, 1984). This involvement has led to a focus on providing safety and treatment for spouse abuse victims: the battered mates and the children who reside in settings where violence occurs.

An indication of the extent of the problem is the number of individuals affected by domestic violence. From one national survey of violence in American homes, researchers reported that in one household out of six, a

1

spouse has committed an act of violence against his or her partner in the past year (Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980). The researchers in that survey concluded that an American's greatest risk of being assaulted, injured, or murdered occurs in one's own home by a family member. Forty percent of all female murder victims are killed by their husbands (Dobash & Dobash, 1977-78, 1979). Beatings constitute the most prevalent method of wife murder (Fields, 1977-78).

Conjugal abuse affects not only the marital dyad, but also the children and family unit. When violence occurs in the family, children are seeing models for how to handle relationships and disagreement. A cultural tradition exists to utilize hitting as punishment to curb unwanted behavior. Theoretically, children not only learn to curb behaviors through this model; realistically, they also learn that violence and love are linked, that violence is morally right, and that violence is justifiable when something is really important (Gelles, 1977). Thus, an attitude that violence can be exercised for "the good" of the recipient is promulgated (A. Miller, 1983). These lessons in childhood are transferred to the context of other social relation-ships, and violence in families and relationships becomes a way of life (Gelles, 1977; A. Miller, 1983, 1986). The intergenerational cycle theory of violence, i.e., that children who are recipients of violence will grow up to be perpetrators of violence, has been validated repeatedly (cf.

Bakan, 1971; Gil, 1970; Gillen, 1946; Maurer, 1976; Palmer, 1962; Steele & Pollack, 1974; Welsh, 1976).

Also, domestic violence has significant costs for society. As examples, public and private sector funds are used to pay for safe shelters, counseling, police intervention, legal avenues, and other resources. Police face greater injury and death at the scenes of domestic violence than at any other crime scene at which they intervene (Bard & Zacker, 1974).

Ratios of wife battering compared to husband battering range from 11:1 through 13:1 in the United States (Gaquin, 1977-78; Levinger, 1966; Steinmetz, 1977-78). Straus, Gelles, and Steinmetz (1980) supported social policy, attention, and treatment specifically on wife abuse for the following reasons: (a) Wife battering involves more dangerous and injurious forms of violence, and it results in greater physical damage and injury; (b) male abusers are much more often repeaters; (c) wives often act in self-defense; (d) much abuse by the husband occurs when the wife is pregnant, posing additional danger to the fetus; and (e) the mores, laws, and traditions of our society lock women into marriages in a more substantial way than men.

Wife abuse is a chronic crime which escalates in severity and poses a serious threat to the safety of the women involved (Pagelow, 1977a, 1977b, 1981; Walker, 1979). Battered women commonly report receiving murder threats from their abusers, as well as perceiving the batterers'

capabilities to kill them (Walker, 1979). The violence in wife abuse is often excessive and relentless, with beatings continuing after the victims are either unconscious or dead (Okun, 1986; Walker, 1979; Wolfgang, 1958). The severity of the threat to abused women's lives is substantiated by the statistics on women who are murdered by their partners (Dobash & Dobash, 1977-78, 1979). Many more women seek safe shelter than abusers seek treatment for their problem (Fleming, 1979). Batterers find it extremely difficult to acknowledge their behavior as a problem or to take responsibility for the outcome of their brutality (Walker, 1979). The chances are quite slim that battered women who return to their households will experience an improved conjugal relationship with less threat of violence (Pagelow, 1981). Concern for the safety of victims is of utmost importance.

Statement of the Problem

Greater theoretical understanding of wife abuse is needed. One aspect of this, whether the battered woman will return to the abuser or not following a shelter stay, is important, especially with the strong likelihood that returning to the batterer means continuation of the woman's abuse. Theoretical explanations have yet to uncover fully the factors related to battered women's destinations after shelter stays.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to reexamine key factors from previous empirical and theoretical research, in

combination with factors from a new theoretical perspective,
as potential indicators of battered women's destination,
i.e., not returning to the abuser or returning to the
abuser, following a shelter stay.

Rationale for the Study

In several studies researchers have examined various
factors related to women remaining in or leaving a rela-
tionship where they are battered, though the researchers did
not formulate global theories which guided their choice of
factors. For example, in early research frequency of abuse
and severity of the abuse were found to be related to the
battered woman leaving the relationship (Gelles, 1976);
however, all investigators since then have failed to
empirically resubstantiate that finding (cf. Pagelow, 1977c,
1980, 1981; D.K. Snyder & Scheer, 1981). Abuse in the
woman's family of origin (Pagelow, 1977c, 1980, 1981), the
age of children, and number of children (Cristall, 1978;
D.K. Snyder & Scheer, 1981) are not related to battered
women's exit from a battering relationship. D.K. Snyder and
Scheer (1981) found that a higher number of previous
separations, shorter length of marriage, and a religious
affiliation other than Roman Catholic were indicative that a
battered woman would not return to the abuser after a
shelter stay (D.K. Snyder & Scheer, 1981). The length of
the relationship was found not to be a significant variable
relating to dissolution of a battering relationship in
another study (Okun, 1986). Of these factors, many of which

are demographic, previous separations and Roman Catholic
denomination have proved to be significant. D.K. Snyder and
Scheer (1981) suggested that perhaps religiosity or authori-
tarianism would be more revealing than denomination.
Neither previous separations nor denomination is a foolproof
method to determine likelihood of remaining in or leaving
the relationship.

Others (Gelles, 1972, 1976; Martin, 1976; Pagelow,
1981) have proposed that women who are able to leave
battering relationships are those who are economically
independent from the abuser. Several researchers (Gelles,
1976; Kalmuss & Straus, 1982; Pagelow, 1981) have empiri-
cally validated this proposition; financial resources
available to a woman have served as predictive indicators of
her remaining in or leaving a battering relationship.
Although the availability of resources is a key factor, it
does not always explain who extricates herself from an
abusive marriage versus who remains in such a marriage.
Some battered women in shelter programs or therapy have
faced tremendous economic and social hardship, at times with
minimal career skills, yet they left their abusers and
established themselves and their children in new locations
on their own (Fleming, 1979; Martin, 1976; Stacey & Shupe,
1983).

Several theories have been proposed to explain whether
a woman will remain in or leave an abusive relationship.
One theory for the battered woman's entrapment in an abusive

relationship is that a patriarchal society perpetuates abuse and coercive control of women (Brownmiller, 1975; Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Schechter 1982). Rights of chastisement accorded to men as legal property owners of women and children resulted in the legal and social sanctioning of male violence against women and children. Patriarchal values, such as traditional gender identity development which supports the goals of individuation and separation for males and attachment for females, reinforce women staying in relationships unsatisfying to them (Gilligan, 1982). Women view success of the spousal relationship as their primary responsibility, and the definition for success is dictated by the male heads of the household in a traditional family hierarchy (Dobash & Dobash, 1981). Consequently, battered women are conditioned within the patriarchal system to maintain relationships as long as their husbands and society deem them important.

Although the characteristics of both batterers and battered women very often include traditional values about families and stereotypic ideas regarding gender roles, not all abusers and abused women fit in this category (Walker, 1979). In fact, research to distinguish between women who remained in abusive relationships via the variable of traditional ideology has not supported that more traditional women remain in abusive relationships (Pagelow, 1981). Although the traditions of a patriarchal society contribute to an environment "ripe" for wife abuse, the patriarchal

legacy theory does not completely define the determinants of women's destination.

The most relied upon theoretical explanation regarding battered women is that some women experience a greater degree of learned helplessness than others, perceiving themselves as powerless to alter their situations for the better, regardless of what they do (Walker, 1979). The battering cycle of tension building, acute incident, and loving contrition powerfully reinforces the women's learned helplessness. Walker (1984) expected that battered women who remained with abusers would perceive themselves as having less control over their situations than those who did not remain with abusers, because they perceived others as exercising greater control over them. Instead, the findings indicated that battered women in or out of battering relationships saw themselves as having a great deal of control over what happens in their lives, more so than a general population norm. They did not view powerful others, e.g. the abuser, as having a lot of control over their lives (Walker, 1984).

Additional investigation of potential determinants of the destination of domestic violence victims following their shelter stays is needed. A potential source for additional variables is A. Miller's (1983) theoretical framework for violence in society. She has proposed that violence in society occurs because parents and others, exercising the prevalent child rearing practices of the past several

centuries, have shown neither validation nor respect for the feelings, needs, and desires of children. This "spare the rod, spoil the child" tradition supports the authority of the parent, whether right or wrong. A. Miller (1981, 1983, 1986) labeled the training of children to meet consistently the parents' needs and respond without question to the parents' and society's authority while the children's own needs go unacknowledged as "poisonous pedagogy." She suggested that where this tradition is particularly extreme, children grow up with a greater vulnerability to violence, either as the perpetrators or the victims. In adulthood, they are most likely to deny or repress traumatic childhood experiences, maintain needs to idealize someone else, and often skillfully monitor and attend to the needs of others to gain love and acceptance (A. Miller, 1981, 1983, 1986).

This theoretical perspective applied to battered women suggests that some battered women are more vulnerable to return to battering relationships than others because of the following: (a) They monitored and responded more to their parents' needs than their own, and (b) they strongly idealized parents and authority in general.

Various factors previously identified and studied had not satisfactorily accounted for determining whether battered women's destination following shelter experience would back with their abusers or not. Additional determinants were considered by selecting the variables of authoritarianism and monitoring from the violence theory

proposed by A. Miller (1983, 1986). The previous two variables already noted in the literature as determinants, i.e. resources and number of previous separations (Gelles, 1976; Kalmuss & Straus, 1982; Pagelow, 1981), were investigated. Finally, the locus of control determinant which Walker (1979, 1984) proposed from the learned helplessness theory was reexamined. Reinvestigation of this was considered important in light of the strong reliance in this field on her theory and her surprising findings disputing locus of control as a factor (Walker, 1984).

Research Questions

The specific research questions were

1. Do battered women who do not return to their abusers following shelter stays and battered women who do return to their abusers differ regarding their authoritarianism?

2. Do battered women who do not return to their abusers following shelter stays and battered women who do return to their abusers differ regarding their monitoring?

3. Do battered women who do not return to their abusers following shelter stays and battered women who do return to their abusers differ regarding their resources?

4. Do battered women who do not return to their abusers following shelter stays and battered women who do return to their abusers differ regarding their number of previous separations?

5.   Do battered women who do not return to their abusers following shelter stays and battered women who do return to their abusers differ regarding their locus of control (internal, powerful others, chance)?

6.   Which combination of the above mentioned variables provides the best determination of battered women's destination following a shelter stay?

Significance of the Study

This study has implications for those researching domestic violence, shelter personnel, community agency personnel, and battered women. A workable theory which accurately describes the social problem of wife abuse and which can be used to shape a better family unit and society has yet to be defined. Whether refinement of current theories or evolution of a new theory occurs, research is required on the batterer, the family unit, society, and the battered woman. Despite the heritage of this problem as a socially taboo subject, and the paucity of funding provided to it, the findings from this research effort will add to what is known about battered women and be a part of the base for future research efforts on conjugal violence against women.

If there are identifiable social and psychological factors that determine the destination of battered women following a shelter experience, then shelter program planners could design and administer programs most suited to the two different populations. Rather than assuming that

all programs are appropriate for all shelter residents, better attempts at identifying the appropriate recipients for certain interventions could be made. The woman who is setting up independent living arrangements for herself and her children needs housing assistance, career guidance, oftentimes school transfers for children, continuing welfare aid and food stamps, and social networks. The woman returning to the abuser might benefit from self-defense training, conflict resolution skills, and strategies to encourage marital and family counseling. Depending on her long-range desires and the degree to which her return is based on economic dependence, the abused woman returning to the batterer might benefit from strategies for acquiring career skills or employment opportunities.

Community agency personnel who come in contact with battered women include those from food and financial assistance agencies, churches, legal aid, state prosecution and public defender offices, vocational rehabilitation programs, health care agencies, school programs, and sometimes community mental health or crisis counseling agencies. With more insight into who is likely to return to the abuser and who is likely to separate longer-term from the batterer, personnel from each of these agencies can more appropriately intervene. Oftentimes, staff working with battered women can get invested in the hope that a client will decide her destination in a particular direction. A more definitive profile of who will stay away and who will

return will aid concerned helpers in setting their expecta-
tions while doing what they know to be helpful in each case.

Finally, battered women can gain greater self-
understanding and mutual appreciation by more clearly
knowing the challenges they face to establish violence-
free lives. These findings will not provide them with
the causal explanations for why some return to abusers
and some do not. Yet, the findings may provide them with
clues to explore what in their situations are defensive
responses to their abuse and which have roots in both
external and internalized oppression. Greater under-
standing can help minimize self-blame and guilt.

<div align="center">Definition of Terms</div>

Operational definitions for terms relevant to the
research are provided to enhance understanding.

Battered Woman

A battered woman is any married or unmarried woman over
the age of 16 who has been physically abused in ways which
caused pain or injury on at least one occasion at the hands
of an intimate male partner.[1] Battered wives and wife abuse

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[1]A definition for battered women has not been univer-
sally agreed upon by researchers. The most notable distinc-
tions about this definition are as follows: A battered
woman would not need to present evidence of injury; self-
report of physical battering is sufficient. The battering
need not be a repeated occurrence as preferred by some
authors (Michigan Women's Commission, 1977; Parker &
Schumacher, 1977). Although abuses other than physical may
be just as devastating, and support exists to include
psychological abuse as a component of battering (Moore,
1979; Walker, 1978b, 1979, 1980a,), the definition herein
has been limited to physical harm alone. The purpose is
two-fold: (a) Physical abuse can be documented more

victims will also mean battered women as defined here.
Abused, harmed, or beaten may be substituted for battered.

Battering

Battering refers to intentional physical abuse which
causes pain or injury. Spouse abuse, spousal violence,
conjugal assault, wife beating, or domestic violence will be
used interchangeably with battering.

Shelter

A shelter is an emergency refuge for safety available
for more than one battered woman at a time, operated
generally by women's groups, volunteer organizations, a
governmental or non-profit agency, and other than a safe
place to stay which the woman provides for herself or is
provided for her by family members, in-laws, or friends.

Destination

Destination, in this investigation, refers to either
returning to the abuser or not returning to the abuser
following a shelter stay.

Returning to the Abuser

For the purposes of this study returning to the abuser
means being in residence with the assailant during the

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readily; operationalizing a definition for psychological
abuse is, at best, extremely difficult; and (b) due to space
considerations and various other exigencies, shelter
programs for battered women most often provide safe refuge
services utilizing this same delimited definition as an
admissions requirement. Although battered women could also
include those who have been abused by family members
(Pagelow, 1977a), those groups have been excluded from this
study. This sample may include women who are cohabiting
with men although not legally married to them, or separated
or divorced partners who are living with each other.

follow-up contact which occurs from 2 to 6 weeks following departure from the shelter, regardless of whether the battered woman left the shelter to return to him, or in the interim weeks decided to move back with him.

Not Returning to the Abuser

Women who are in the category of not returning to the abuser are those who decide to leave the shelter and do not live with the abuser and are not residing with him as of follow-up within the time frame of 2 through 6 weeks after departure from the shelter.

Locus of Control

Locus of control refers to how an individual perceives contingency reinforcement upon his or her actions(s) and generally includes an internal and/or an external dimension. Attributional style may be interchanged with locus of control. The three types of locus of control in this investigation are internal, powerful others, and chance. Internal locus of control refers to when an individual perceives that a reinforcement has been contingent upon his or her action(s) (Rotter, 1966). Powerful others locus of control is defined as when as individual believes that a reinforcement has not been completely contingent on his or her action(s), but externally due, to some extent, to the control of powerful others (Levenson & Miller, 1976). Chance locus of control means that an individual perceives that a reinforcement has not been fully contingent on his or her action(s), but due, in part, to the result of chance,

fate, or luck (Levenson & Miller, 1976). The Levenson Locus of Control scales (Levenson & Miller, 1976) was be utilized in this investigation.

Resources

Resources refers to an indication of the battered woman's objective dependence or independence from her abuser, especially as it relates to the woman's employment status, the presence of children age 5 or younger at home, and 75% or more of the household income being earned by the mate. In this study it was measured by the Resources Index (Kalmuss & Straus, 1982).

Number of Previous Separations

Number of previous separations is defined as any time the woman has left the mate previously. In this study that was indicated in response to two questions: (a) Have you left your mate before, and (b) if yes, number of times.

Authoritarianism

Authoritarianism, also known as dogmatism, is defined by Rokeach (1960) as an organization of belief-disbelief systems constructed to both satisfy a need for a cognitive framework for knowing and understanding the world and to distance threatening aspects of reality. In this study it was measured by the Dogmatism Scale (Form D), a generalized measure of authoritarianism, free of political bias (Rokeach, 1960).

<u>Monitoring</u>

Monitoring is defined as the observation of others and mediating of one's presentation as guided by social cues (M. Snyder, 1974), as measured by the Snyder Self-Monitoring Scale (M. Snyder, 1974).

Organization of Study

This study will be presented in five chapters. The current chapter is a brief introduction of the subject, the purpose and rationale for the study, and a description of relevant terms. Chapter II is a review of the related literature. The research methodology is detailed in the third chapter. Data analyses and results are presented in the fourth chapter. Finally, in Chapter V the researcher offers a discussion and interpretation of the results, a discussion of the limitations of the study, and further implications.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

Compared to other psychological topics, the literature focusing on wife abuse is quite recent, appearing only in the last 15 years (Hilberman, 1980). Described initially in this chapter is how conjugal violence emerged as a social issue and how the beginnings of the public's acknowledgement of the problem shape the theories which developed. The socio-psychological theories of violence, particularly those which have relevance to this investigation, are presented. Next, the pertinent research in regard to factors related to the battered woman's destination is detailed. Finally, previous research findings are given on authoritarianism and monitoring, the new variables in the current investigation.

<u>Emergence of Conjugal Violence</u>

Woman battering was slow to be recognized as a problematic social issue for several reasons: the sanctity and privacy of the home, the theory of sadomasochism in humans, and the subordinate role of women to men in both home and society (Gelles, 1977; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980; Walker, 1979). In the past two decades, societal issues have changed substantially resulting in an environment favorable to examining both the dynamics of conjugal violence and a society which has supported, excused, and

18

tolerated such abuse. From examination of the early
literature several main forces in the early 1970s reflect a
Zeitgeist which has brought wife abuse to public attention:
(a) the British refuge movement, (b) the women's rights
movement in the U.S., (c) examination of police injuries and
fatalities, and (d) the study of societal violence.

The British Refuge Movement

Although the British were the first to open battered
women's shelters, their initial discovery of the social
problem was quite unintentional. In 1971 Erin Pizzey went
to the Chiswick City Council to seek support for estab-
lishing a home as an advice center for women. When she
opened the doors to Chiswick Women's Aid (WA), she dis-
covered that the majority of women coming for help were
seeking a safe place away from husbands who beat them.
Within a year and a half she collected demographic and
incidence data from the WA program, including 3,000 requests
from battered women seeking refuge. She gave the informa-
tion to England's social service administration thereby
documenting the widespread problem of wife abuse and the
lack of support from legal and governmental communities.
Thus, the shelter movement began (Dobash & Dobash, 1971;
Pizzey, 1974).

Dobash and Dobash (1971) recorded the founding and
growth of WA groups throughout Britain. They suggested that
the establishment of shelters was a natural evolution from
the British women's movement. In addition, they suggested

that the patriarchal attitudes which fostered husbands
beating wives also frustrated women's groups in society at
large as they sought help for the battering problem. A
contradiction existed in society between protecting the
privacy of home life and preventing the battering of
spouses.

Becoming aware of WA's growth, the psychiatric and
legal communities were next to get involved. In <u>Memorandum
on Battered Wives</u> (1974), the Royal College of Psychiatrists
scholars used case studies to depict the complexity of
factors surrounding spouse abuse. They described wife
battering as an adaptation failure of inadequate acquisition
of appropriate social learning skills by the abusers.
Citing the fact that battered wives use help when available,
the Royal College scholars recommended more services,
research, and education. They proposed that child abuse
often occurs in homes where wife battering exists.

Scott (1974) described persons involved in spouse abuse
as likely to come from many clinical classifications, rather
than just one or two. Common diagnoses he cited were
immature personality, dependence, aggression, jealous
reactions, and drug or alcohol addictions. Scott asserted
that although sadomasochism is often assumed as the reason
for battered wives returning, more often dependency,
ignorance of choice, and fear of loneliness exist as the
actual reasons. By 1975 British pamphlets outlining legal
options and explaining the difficulties and inadequacies of

the law began to proliferate (Gill & Coote, 1975; M. Kemp,
Knightly & Norton, 1975).

The Women's Rights Movement in the U.S.

From 1973-1976, news of what was going on in Great
Britain surfaced in popular magazines in the United States,
many of which had female audiences. On July 9, 1973,
Newsweek ("Britain: Battered," 1973) included a report on
the opening of Chiswick Women's Aid. *Ms. Magazine* (Search,
1974) and *McCall's* ("Wife Beaters," 1975) ran similar
stories. *Ladies Home Journal* (Durbin, 1974) reported on
wife-beating as discussed at the National Organization of
Women's (NOW) national conference. NOW's perspective
suggested that battered wives stayed in destructive rela-
tionships due to finances and the positive societal identity
of married females rather than due to masochism.

As coordinator of the NOW Task Force on Battered Women,
Martin wrote *Battered Wives* (1976), one of the earliest
major works on spouse abuse in the U.S. Martin faulted
society for maintaining gender and marital inequities, the
legal system for being unresponsive, and social service
agencies for poor coordination of services to battered
women.

The organized women's rights movement had already
addressed the plight of rape victims in America, and the
focus on wife abuse was a direct result of the attention of
the women's movement (Hilberman, 1980). The obvious
parallel between the two issues showed that both are actions

involving male violence perpetrated against female victims.
In investigating further, Pagelow (1977b) listed the
parallels: Instances of sexual assault and wife abuse were
both underreported to police; they rarely went to court and
had abysmally low rates of conviction when they did. Both
rapists and wife abusers were likely to be repeat offenders;
few offenses evidenced higher rates of recidivism than these
two. The victims of these crimes were pictured stereo-
typically as masochistic, provoking the crime, reporting it
for hidden reasons, and not dedicated to seeing the perpe-
trator prosecuted. Thus, in a "blame the victim" cycle,
women in wife battering cases, as well as rape cases, had to
prove that they were "worthy victims" even though the need
to establish worth was not present in other crimes. Pagelow
reported that these crimes were not predominantly lower
class occurrences as often thought, identifying high
incidence in middle and upper classes also.

Police Involvement

With the addition of computers which stored and
categorized vast amounts of crime scene data, law enforce-
ment agencies gained greater awareness of police fatalities
and injuries at "domestic disturbance" response calls
(National Institute of Law Enforcement and Criminal Justice,
1978). Twenty-eight percent of the assaults perpetrated
against police officers have been while the officers were
responding to domestic disturbance complaints (Stephens,
1977). A substantial proportion of all homicides on police

are related to domestic disturbance calls (Rochester Police Bureau, 1974).

Addressing the American Bar Association, Detroit Police Chief Bannon (1975) commented that in addition to fearing injury, police avoid domestic violence for two other reasons: (a) They lack the skills needed to mediate inter-personal conflicts, and (b) they view domestic conflicts as private problems, not a public matter. He commented:

> Of all the nonathletic occupations, none is as absorbed with the use of physical coercive force as that of the police officer. Nor are any more thoroughly socialized in their masculine role images. This . . . suggests to me that traditionally trained and socialized policemen are the worst possible choices to attempt to intervene in domestic violence. (p. 8)

The lack of police skills to intervene in conjugal violence was addressed in 1967 by Bard and the New York City Police Department. They jointly developed and implemented the first family crisis intervention program within a police unit (Bard & Zacker, 1971). Other literature detailed other early efforts at police training in crisis intervention, referral, and conflict management (Olsen, 1972; Rochester Police Bureau, 1974; Spitzner & McGee, 1975).

Examination of police work brought additional domestic violence factors to light. The incidence and degree of interpersonal aggression of domestic disturbance calls cannot be isolated to lower socioeconomic, minority neigh-borhoods as a comparison between Harlem, New York, and Norwalk, Connecticut, indicated (Bard & Zacker, 1971). Evidence contradicted the common beliefs that family

disputes are usually associated with alcohol and that
assaultive behaviors by family members usually ceased before
the arrival of police (Bard & Zacker, 1974). Greater
caution was advised for the common practice of diverting
wife beaters from the criminal justice process (Brakel,
1971).

The Study of Societal Violence

By the late 1960s society in general felt more concern
about the rising crime rate, especially of violent crimes.
In 1969 the Eisenhower Commission (Goode, 1969) looked into
the causes and prevention of violence, and in 1971 the U.S.
Surgeon General conducted a similar study (Roy, 1977). The
Surgeon General's examination linked media violence and
violence in real life, suggesting a causal relationship
between the two (Roy, 1977). Goode (1969), a member of the
National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of
Violence, theorized that young children learn violence and
the appropriate use of force through observations of parents
during early childhood. Goode suggested that social class
differences exist for spouse abuse due to lower class
acceptance of violence and conflict in their environment in
general. With more conflict situations arising in lower
class neighborhoods, limited places to escape conflict, and
fewer resources (e.g., money, power) available to get what
counts, violence is a more likely option.

Gelles (1972) coined the family as the "training ground
for violence" (p. 169) with family members modeling violent

acts that have much more impact than either television violence or school discipline in producing future generations of assaultive people. In his research, family members from both violent and nonviolent families approved of certain violent acts as "normal" in that they served the purpose of dissipating a husband's tension and/or appeasing an otherwise hysterical mate. Gelles further supported the family structure and the family's societal position as more important factors than individual pathology in the occurrence of family violence. Gelles estimated that intrafamily violence occurs in 37% of any general population which compares similarly to other estimates of this nature (Levinger, 1966; O'Brien, 1971). Gelles (1975) was the first researcher to note the higher likelihood of violence against a wife when she is pregnant.

Straus established the Family Violence Research Program at the University of New Hampshire in 1970. He found that the cultural and social signals from a violent society combine with familial, psychological factors to incite violence in the home, contradicting the myth of the family as a warm and loving system (Straus, 1974).

Straus (1973) looked at the balance of power in families in relationship to the occurrence of violence. Where equal power existed between the husband and wife, the husband to wife violence was lowest. High power in either wife or husband was related to high levels of husband-to-

wife violence. Where the wife's power was recognized as high, the wife-to-husband violence was also high.

In studies where college students recalled parental conflicts, Straus (1974) disproved the popular notion of "cathartic violence," i.e., if pressure is built up and not released through some means, it will eventually erupt as violence. Instead, he found that increased verbal battling escalated physical aggression, rather than dissipating such stresses. College students' parents who utilized more intellectualizing during marital conflicts experienced lower levels of aggression towards spouses.

Straus, working with others (Allen & Straus, 1975; Owens & Straus, 1975), found a moderate correlation between observing, committing, or being victim of violent acts as a child and adult approval of interpersonal or political violence. He also found that the greater the husband's resources, the less likelihood that the husband would perpetrate violence in the home.

Theoretical Models

These four preceding forces focused on the problem of domestic violence, building a body of knowledge which brought multiple facets of wife abuse to light. Theoretical models of family violence resulted. In some cases, theories applied to human behavior and aggression in general have been overlaid on the topic of family violence, e.g., the theory of learned helplessness (Seligman, 1975) or the frustration-aggression hypothesis (Dollard, Dobb, Miller,

Mowrer, & Sears, 1939). In other cases theories have
evolved explicitly from the study of domestic violence as in
Walker's (1979, 1984) cycle theory of battering. The
following major theoretical areas are examined: (a) General
systems, (b) biological, (c) exchange/social control, (d)
feminist, (e) social learning, and (f) intrapsychic.

General Systems Theory

Straus (1973) developed a theory to explain family
violence known as the "general systems theory." The family
unit is a social system with a purpose, seeking to meet
goals and adapting to the environmental context in which it
exists (Straus, 1973). A violent family system is described
as follows: A probability for conflict occurs in the family
due to involuntary membership, intensity of relationships,
generation and gender differences, and parental rights of
influence. The probability of violence can be positively
reinforced due to a highly violent society and socialization
of family members in violence vis a vis parental models,
physical punishment, tolerance of sibling assaults, and
macho values, especially for boys. As a result the culture
legitimizes a norm of violence and family members integrate
assaultiveness into their personality characteristics
(Straus, 1973). The sexism of society, through its limited
roles and career opportunities for women, unequal pay,
assumptions regarding wives and mothers, assumptions
regarding males as head of households, and socialization of
women into subordinate roles, reinforces that a woman should

"stay in her place" regardless of what abusive treatment she receives. All of these socialization imprints provide for a high level of violence in the family (Straus, 1973).

Another general systems model has been advanced by Giles-Sims (1983). She builds on Straus (1973) and Buckley (1967), as well as Broderick and Smith's (1979) concepts regarding hierarchies of feedback and control in systems. The six stage model includes (a) the establishment of the family system, (b) the first incident of violence, (c) stabilization of the family system, (d) the choice point, (e) leaving the system, and (f) resolution or more of the same. Both the man and woman creating the system come to it with individual histories and personalities that influence the way they interact with each other. Precipitating events or stressful situations occur in the marriage. Those events, in combination with prior history relating to violence, enter into the execution of violence. If the assault serves to maintain the system or satisfy goals of the batterer, the next move is by the woman. If her response to the assault is to ignore, deny, or provide forgiveness, she colludes in a feedback loop which encourages the continuance of such behavior. On the other hand, if the abused woman gets angry and considers the violence as a possible pattern, then she may utilize social supports and examine her alternatives. At this point, the battered woman may leave. If the assaultive behavior did not satisfy some of the system achievement or maintenance goals, then the

batterer may choose an alternative behavior that could be more useful and acceptable. If the woman leaves and will come back only under the condition that he change, he may choose some alternative behavior as well. Her other two options include not coming back at all, or coming back with no requisite that he change. A weakness of this theory is that Giles-Sims did not incorporate some of the less directly observable influences such as the patriarchal influences or societal gender inequities.

Biological Theory

Elliott (1982) suggested that biological explanations have been totally ignored in postulating theories about intrafamilial violence. He detailed how organic and meta-bolic disorders contribute to domestic disturbances; he specifically focused on episodic dyscontrol syndrome or "explosive rage." His sample of 286 patients with histories of violence was a skewed sample because of the biased selection on the part of the referring physicians, the use of computerized tomography (the CT scan), and the pain-staking methods utilized to uncover minimal brain dysfunc-tion. Elliott recommended further research with an unselected group of batterers to uncover neurological causation factors in domestic violence, and by no means suggested biology or genetics as an all encompassing factor. Although neurological dysfunction may be pertinent in a small number of cases, it is highly unlikely that it is a major explanatory feature of wife abuse in our society. The

question would arise as to why so much brain dysfunction occurs among men only.

Exchange/Social Control Theory

Exchange and social control apply to all types of intrafamily violence, including conjugal abuse (Gelles, 1983). Exchange theory suggests that the ways humans interact with each other is dictated by the rewards they receive or the negative consequences they avoid (Gelles & Straus, 1979). The social control theory is the question of how much control is exerted through society and social institutions to encourage creation, maintenance, or diminishment of some belief or act such as violent behavior. According to this theory, family members batter other family members simply because they can.

First, the costs of being violent are less than the rewards; therefore battering occurs. Since effective social controls aimed at preventing family violence are not in place, a family member who batters experiences few consequences due to these lack of controls. Also, inequality within the family, the sanctity of the family unit in society, and the encouraged image of males as macho minimize social control in the family thereby reducing the consequences of violence to the batterer and increasing the rewards.

When societies have no legal or normative sanctions regarding family violence, the violence is more frequent (Nye, 1979). Additionally, when norms or laws exist

sanctioning one type of family violence but not another,
e.g., laws against wife abuse but not child abuse, the
violence will be more frequent in the less sanctioned
category.

The exchange/social control theory for family violence
has application to treatment and policy issues (Gelles,
1983). Treatment interventions and policies that increase
both social controls exercised over the family and the costs
for violent behavior are primary. The resultant policies
should diminish societal norms that glorify violence,
increase financial and gender equality, and create more
responsive criminal justice and social service agencies.
The value in such a theory is that it can be applied across
the board to explain all types of familial abuse.

Feminist Theories

According to feminists, explanations regarding violence
against women are inadequate if concerned with general
explanations regarding overall societal violence or family
violence (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Schechter, 1982). By
treating all violence between parties as equal, some
significant uniquenesses about domestic violence against
women are masked (Dobash & Dobash, 1981b). Feminist authors
have particularly challenged Straus' (1980) conclusion that
there is nearly sexual equality in perpetuation of violence
in couples and Steinmetz (1977-78) who suggested an equally
prevalent "battered husband syndrome" (p. 501). Pleck,
Pleck, Grossman, and Bart (1977-78) have pointed to inac-

curate interpretations by Steinmetz of her own data regarding incidence of husband abuse. Fleming (1979) and Schechter (1982) challenged these premises, making a strong case that the more serious violent incidents, often with more severe physical and psychological repercussions, are perpetrated by men against women in conjugal relationships.

Feminist researchers pinpoint the reliance on the social survey as contributing to faulty findings (Dobash & Dobash, 1983; NiCarthy, Merriam, & Coffman 1984). The data from survey methods are very informative regarding socio-demographic characteristics, but are of little value for information regarding the sensitive issues involved in family violence about which society and individuals have traditionally kept quiet (Dobash & Dobash, 1983). Conse-quently, many of the findings and conclusions from this approach have lacked consistency, been proven unfounded, or are replete with contradiction (Dobash & Dobash, 1983; Fleming, 1979; Pagelow, 1980; Pleck, Pleck, Grossman & Bart, 1977). To understand this phenomenon in our society, in-depth systematic interviewing of battered women by experts on this subject is preferable to the survey technique as a research method (Dobash & Dobash, 1983; Pagelow, 1981; Walker, 1984). And for feminist researchers, calling "woman battering" or "wife abuse" by the term "spouse abuse" is in itself a sexist act masking the true nature of the problem (Dobash, 1981).

There are several theories that represent the feminist analysis of wife abuse. Dobash and Dobash (1977-78) traced the history of violence against women by placing it in the wider context of society, thus supporting that abuse against wives has been acceptable behavior in a patriarchal society. Dobash and Dobash (1977-78, 1979) cited marriage laws throughout history that categorize wives as the possessions of husbands and dictate the husband's obligations to chastise and reprimand wives. Many of the laws clearly reflect double standards. For example, English Common Law denied wives civil rights and legal status. England, Europe, and early America had laws supporting the husband's rights to beat his wife. It was not until the 1700s that this tradition came into question. In the early 1800s written laws were adopted in various states that reiterated the sanctity and privacy of the home unless "permanent injury or excessive violence" were present (Eisenberg & Micklow, 1977, p. 149). Finally, not until 1891 does caselaw reject the husband's legal right to beating or abusing his wife (Dobash & Dobash, 1977-78). Dobash and Dobash (1979) believed that it is the tradition of the patriarchal society that has also impacted on the leaders of the women's movement in their attempts to address wife abuse through both traditional institutions and the grass roots shelter movement. Consequently, nonsupportive laws change too slowly, funding is inadequate, and institutions remain

nonresponsive and arduous for battered women and those helping them.

The patriarchal tradition today combines with the needs and realities of a capitalist economy to continue institutional and socialization patterns that perpetuate male dominance and aggression (Schechter, 1982). Battering is one of the many ways that men maintain control in our society. Women stay in abusive relationships for two reasons: (a) Their inferior status under capitalism (lower wages or wagelessness and unequal division of labor requiring women to be responsible for maintenance of both home and family) leaves them financially dependent on men, and (b) their sex role socialization as wives and mothers results in a moral obligation to stay and please their husbands and rear their children properly (Schechter, 1982).

One problem with patriarchal society explanations is that they are historical and hypothetical in nature, with minimal empirical work with battered women operationalizing the specifics of the theory. An example of a researcher who has captured empirically some of the aspects of patriarchal society is Pagelow (1981). She has addressed particularly the question, "why do women stay." The hypothesis is that a woman of few resources, receiving negative institutional response (family, law enforcement, social service agencies, society), and very traditional in her beliefs, is unlikely to change or believe she can change her battering situation. Pagelow (1981) supports the proposition that limited

resources (as measured by the woman's age, her children's ages, differences in earnings, husband's earnings, and home ownership) correlate strongly with the woman's staying in the relationship. She did not find a strong correlation between institutional response and traditional ideology with the women's length of cohabitation while in a battering relationship.

Social Learning Theory

The most relied upon psychological theory regarding battered women is that proposed by Walker (cf. 1977-78, 1979, 1980b, 1984). Because of its well established reference in the battered women's movement and its role as a significant precedent for this investigation, Walker's theory will be considered in detail here.

Walker (1977-78, 1979, 1984) utilizes Seligman's (1975) theory of learned helplessness as a basis to understand the battering relationship and battered women's responses. Learned helplessness is combined with a cycle theory of violence to depict the phenomenon of battering (Walker, 1979). The supporting research (Walker, 1978a, 1978b, 1979, 1980a, 1981) is based on interviews with several hundreds of battered women and some caregivers to battered women (e.g., therapists, shelter workers).

Learned helplessness, according to Seligman (1975), occurs when animals experience negative reinforcement noncontingently, i.e., with no apparent link to their own actions. Eventually they believe that their actions have no

effect on what may happen to them. This theory's applicability to humans has also been supported by Seligman and others (Hiroto, 1974; Klein & Seligman, 1976; W.P. Miller & Seligman, 1975; W.P. Miller, Seligman, & Kurlander, 1976; Seligman, 1975; Seligman & Hiroto, 1975). With battered women, as Walker's theory proposed (1977-78, 1979, 1984), battering from an abuser occurs at random, often in no directly rational relationship to the woman's immediately preceding behavior, and according to no set schedule or timeframe.

As repeated battering occurs, she comes to believe that nothing she can do will have any impact on the batterer's abusive behavior. All of the actions she has previously tried, e.g., being apologetic and loving, fighting back, leaving, calling the police, have not resulted in an end to the unpredictable abuse. Walker proposed that a woman will more quickly "learn" her powerlessness if she experienced more rigid sex-role stereotyping as a child which already reinforces passivity on her part and the importance of relying on men for help and protection (Dweck, Goetz, & Straus, 1980; Radloff & Rae, 1979, 1981; Walker, 1977-78, 1980a, 1984).

From Walker's interviews, she determined that the battering, although neither constant nor occurring in a consistent manner each time, does occur in a cycle of three distinct phases (Walker, 1977-78, 1979, 1984). The first phase is the tension-building stage. During this stage,

tension increases in the home with the batterer expressing anger and dissatisfaction, but without any extreme violent expression. The woman tries to please the batterer to minimize the hostility, calm him, and prevent any more expression of hostility. However, the tension increases, and her efforts to reduce his angry responses become more unsuccessful. Eventually, the woman withdraws, thus eliciting an insecurity and an increase in possessiveness, jealousy, and oppression from the abuser.

At phase two the tension becomes intolerable and acute battering occurs. The batterer explodes into physical and verbal assault. This is the most likely time for the woman to receive injuries or for external parties, e.g., police, to become involved. This incident usually dissipates the tension which had built up, and the violence temporarily ceases.

In stage three loving contrition ensues. The batterer may apologize profusely, promise never to repeat the actions, buy gifts and/or be more helpful to the woman. The relationship enters into a honeymoon-like appearance. The batterer may believe he will not be assaultive again, and the woman wants very much to believe that he will not.

Empirical findings from Walker's (1984) sample support the three-stage theory. In 65% of the relationships studied by Walker (1984), evidence supported the tension-building stage before an acute battering incident. And with 58% of

her subjects, a loving contrition stage occurred after the acute battering incident.

Intrapsychic Theories

Earliest theoretical explanations of spouse abuse are based on the concept that abuse occurs because the participants are individually pathological, i.e., have inadequate personality development (Snell, Rosenwald, & Robey, 1964). This intrapsychic viewpoint suggests that batterers are passive-aggressive, obsessive-compulsive, paranoid, sadistic, immature, dependent, excessively jealous, and/or addicted to drugs or alcohol (Scott, 1974; Shainess, 1977). The wives contribute to the abuse because they are aggressive, masculine, domineering, sexually frigid, and masochistic (Snell, Rosenwald, & Robey, 1964; Shainess, 1979). These theoretical explanations have fallen short because neither explains persons who have these personality characteristics and are not in battering relationships, nor takes into account a myriad of interactional and social factors surrounding domestic violence.

The most prevalent Freudian view applied to battered women is masochism (Shainess, 1979). Yet within the context of contemporary psychoanalytic theory, Gillman (1980) proposed an object-relations approach to understanding and treating battered women, following from the work on borderline personality (cf. Kernberg, 1975). She (Gillman, 1980) suggested that masochism is not a key factor in battered women since the defense mechanism of repression, usually

present in masochistic individuals, is not often present in battered women. Battered women endure far too much abuse for their behavior to be considered "neurotic."

Battered women more often fall into the category of borderline personality, being neither neurotic nor psychotic. The "battered woman personality" is a woman who has two internal, yet separate, representations of herself: one good and the other bad. As battering occurs, she is a worthless person in a destructive relationship to a persecuting husband (mother). She has difficulty leaving the relationship in that the good self and other emerges after the incident is over and as the bad submerges. The splitting means quite opposing views of self and spouse are present, yet the battered woman is unaware of the contradictory nature of her beliefs (Gillman, 1980).

A source for variables for this investigation was the theory of violence proposed by A. Miller (1983). Because of this theory's application to the current study, the theory is presented in detail.

A. Miller (1983) proposed that violence occurs in society because of the heritage of strict child rearing practices which break children's willfulness when they are very young, and causes them to repress their own traumatic childhood experiences, and leads to their aggressiveness or self-destructive behaviors in adolescence and adulthood. Historically, children have been viewed as mean, demanding, tyrannical, possessing destructive drives and sexual longing

for their parents, and having other negative desires and behaviors which society and parents have believed are their responsibilities to ameliorate (Rutschky, 1977). The child's willfulness must be emphatically curbed and the child must view the parents as unquestionably right and superior (Rutschky, 1977). Both physically and emotionally abusive and humiliating methods are utilized by parents to accomplish their responsibilities of rearing socially acceptable children. The parents are unaware of the ways they are abreacting their own suppressed hatred and anger from their own childhood by utilizing their offspring to meet their suppressed needs (A. Miller 1981, 1983, 1986).

In this environment the child's needs are not met but frustrated. The child experiences hurt and anger, but cannot have these feelings validated with parents. Without any validation the child denies the feelings (A. Miller, 1981, 1983, 1986). A proneness to violence is most likely if the child from such an upbringing does not have the following: (a) another human being in whom to confide true feelings, (b) an environment allowing experiencing and expression of pain (whether at home or elsewhere), (c) other objects for abreacting hatred, and (d) an education or intellectual avenue to rationalize hatred (A. Miller, 1983). Depending, then, on the degree to which the child has been traumatized and the unavailability of healthy channeling of negative experiences and feelings which are suppressed,

rather than addressed, the likelihood for aggression or self-destruction can be determined.

What follows is that the child represses any memory of the traumata and idealizes the parents and the upbringing. The child, because of love for the parents, takes the responsibility and the blame for the parents' hurtful behavior (A. Miller 1983). The child's feelings of anger, hurt, hatred, helplessness, and pain come forth in other life circumstances, but disassociated from their origin. The child is consciously blocked from realizing their source. In addition to idealizing those who traumatize the child, the child can strongly identify with the perpetrator in an effort to distance the self from the identified "bad child" whom the perpetrator/parent has been disciplining so sharply. The child has thus split-off, projected his or her own weakness, feelings of helplessness, and vulnerability by maintaining a certain derision for others who are younger, weaker, smaller (A. Miller, 1981).

Since society maintains a lack of sensitivity to the denied cruelty, children grow up to become parents who manifest the same types of humiliations and physical and emotional abuse on their own children (A. Miller, 1983). This process means that cruelty and violence become passed on from generation to generation. Only a sensitive discovery of one's own traumatization, in a supportive environment, breaks the intergenerational cycle of violence.

Children who receive humiliating and cruel treatment when they need protection, respect, and honesty will grow up to subject others or themselves to destructive acts. If they become parents, their own children will be the likely outlets. Lacking a weaker spouse or children, their violence may be directed at others in society (A. Miller 1983). Self-cruelty is another possibility. Having received poor treatment as children, adults can continue to treat themselves abusively (A. Miller, 1983).

A. Miller (1986) has argued against Freud's theory of drives in children indicating that his willingness to consistently interpret neuroses as rooted in the child's drive conflicts with Freud's own protection and idealization of the parenting he received. Freud's own narcissistic wounds, and a lack of an empathic environment for him to uncover his own repressed traumatization, led him to collude in blaming the victim and sparing parents' feelings (A. Miller, 1986).

In addition to being self or other destructive, another variation of behavior can develop in response to such a childhood. As the child idealizes the parents and takes responsibility and blame for traumas, the child comes to understand performing for the parents and parents' needs as a means of winning their love. Thus, some children from this environment have the particular skill of discerning the needs of others (e.g., the parents) no matter how subtle or unconscious the signs are (A. Miller, 1981). The develop-

ment of this monitoring skill comes at the cost of under-development of the child's own ability to perceive his or her own needs.

To summarize, A. Miller (1981, 1983, 1986) proposed that violence occurs because of the following: Parents have narcissistic disturbances from their own childhood traumatic experiences which they have repressed. They treat their own children cruelly and unsympathetically by splitting off their "bad selves" on their weaker and more vulnerable children. Society colludes with the process by mandating parents to rear obedient and conforming children and viewing acting out not as children's reactions to their traumatization but as manifestations of the bad nature of children who have not been properly reared into subservience. Society protects parents, provides avenues historically for socially acceptable violence, e.g., beating wives and children as appropriate disciplinary measures, striking students for wrongdoing. Children who are disturbed through such upbringing will either dull their self-sensing abilities, harm others weaker than themselves, become self-destructive, deny their own traumatization and needs, refine their abilities to monitor and please others in a quest for love and narcissistic fulfillment, or some combination of these qualities.

Variables Relating to the Battered Women's Destination

Researchers espousing different theories have examined a number of variables relating to the question of battered

women leaving abusive relationships. Researching a variety
of variables is important to build a solid theoretical
understanding of the problem. What follows is a
summarization of that research and, where applicable, a
discussion of how it applies to the investigation.

Frequency and Severity of the Abuse

Gelles (1976) believed that a battered woman would
mobilize on her own behalf the more frequent or severe the
abuse. His research supported this hypothesis. Other
research did not confirm the same finding (Pagelow, 1977c,
1980, 1981). Nor were frequency or severity significant in
defining whether a battered woman would return to the abuser
after a shelter stay (Snyder & Scheer, 1981).

Abuse in Family of Origin

If a battered woman was exposed to more violence in her
family of origin, would she be less likely to stay away from
her husband, the abuser? The families of origin of battered
women have often been violent families. Twenty-three
percent of the family histories of the wives studied by
Gayford (1975) were violent. In other studies (Hilberman &
Munson, 1977-78; Scott, 1974) that percentage was 50% or
more. Parker and Schumacher (1977) found that if the mother
in the wife's family of origin was physically abused, it was
significantly probable that the wife would be battered by
her husband. Half the women in the Hilberman and Munson
study (1977-78) were abused themselves as children. Gelles
(1976) found that the less a woman was exposed to parents

battering each other in her family of origin, the more
willing she was to seek outside intervention when she was
abused by her spouse. Pagelow (1977c, 1980, 1981) was not
able to substantiate the same finding in her research. It
is possible that a similar percentage would occur for non-
battered women's families of origin. Study with families of
college students indicates violence was present in 28% of
the cases.

Length of Marriage, Previous Separations, Religious Affiliation

Snyder and Scheer (1981) examined a number of variables
for their ability to suggest whether a battered woman would
return to her abuser following a stay at a shelter. They
selected variables from data available at admission to the
shelter so the results would be helpful for shelter workers
in selecting their intervention strategies with the shel-
tered women. The variables were not selected to support or
test any particular theory, but to be helpful in theoretical
formulation.

In their study the sampe was comprised of 74 women
admitted to a shelter in Detroit, Michigan. Fifty-five
percent of the women (41 women) were living with the abuser
when follow-up was conducted 6 weeks after they left the
shelter; 45% (33 women) were not. When comparisons were
conducted between the two groups, six variables from
admission were significantly different between the two
groups: two of the reasons for seeking admission (seeks
short-term separation only and seeks conjoint marital

counseling), relationship to the assailant, length of mar-
riage (if married), previous separations, and religious
affiliation (Roman Catholic or not). No significant group
differences were found for any sociodemographic variables or
for measures of the nature or severity of the abuse inci-
dent.

These six variables, when entered into a forward
stepwise discriminant function analysis with destination at
follow-up as the criterion variable, yielded three predic-
tors. Complete data on all six variables were available for
50 of the 72 abused women; the 50 were subjects for this
portion of the research. The length of the marriage,
occurrence of previous separations, and religious affili-
ation best predicted, with an overall classification
accuracy of 79.6%, where the woman would be residing at
follow-up. The authors support cross validation of their
study utilizing independent samples from other settings.

There seems to be no or minimal other research in the
literature for the three variables identified by the Snyder
and Scheer (1981) research as particularly relevant to why
the woman stays or why she returns to an abusive relation-
ship. Walker (1979) indicated that abused women who leave
their batterers and return to shelters on multiple occasions
are more likely to ultimately leave the battering relation-
ship. Several authors (Martin, 1976; Pagelow, 1981; Walker,
1979, 1984) have reiterated from interviews with battered
women that longer marriages are the more difficult relation-

ships to leave, despite the abuse. In research which focused on couples who thought about divorce compared to those who did not (Booth & White, 1980), results were that religious affiliation does not have a strong effect on thinking about divorce. Of the couples who had come from lengthier marriages with stronger religious belief there were fewer women who thought about divorce; those couples with shorter marriages or less religious zeal had more wives who thought about divorce. They found that the more intense one's religious belief, the less likely one would think about divorce. Booth and White (1980), nevertheless, did find that in religious couples, even where marital satisfaction was high, persons experiencing abuse were more likely to think about divorce.

Stronger religious belief or activity is often tied to a more traditional way of looking at life (Pagelow, 1981). Walker (1979, 1984) found in her sample of both battered women and batterers, as described by the women, a strong traditional view about the home, family, and sex roles. Pagelow (1981) felt that the more intense the traditional ideology of women who have been battered, the more likely they are to remain in battering relationships and the less likely they will be to take action to significantly better the situation. To test this hypothesis, she looked at whether the women came from a religious family of origin (i.e., family religious activity), as well as five other variables she felt reflected traditional ideology. Her

variables in combination did not support her hypothesis.
Her variable about a religious family, however, did have
a statistically significant correlation to the dependent
variable. Wetzel and Ross (1983) supported the idea that
battered women are kept captive by the family and religious
values that they hold among other things.

Love, Affection, and Hope

Research on the impact of love, affection, and hope to
battered women's destination is scant. In a sample of
battered women who were not sheltered women, but battered
women located via social service agencies, legal or medical
sources, advertising, and by word of mouth, the most
commonly cited reason for staying in abusive relationships
was that the women loved their husbands (Cristall, 1978).
Forty percent of 542 shelter residents sampled (Stacey &
Shupe, 1983) when asked why had they remained with the
abusers if they had not left immediately after a first
incident of violence, said they were still optimistic about
the future of the relationship. Twenty-seven percent of
those felt they could still save the marriage. Fifteen
percent suggested they stayed because of their affection for
the partners.

Understanding how love, affection, and hope relate to
women's vulnerability to remain in abusive relationships is
a needed undertaking. Women have been identified in our
society as being more relationship oriented than men; their
socialization and conditioning have reinforced them in this

way (Gilligan, 1982). Males have considered their main focus, their life's work, to be their career. Women, traditionally, have viewed their life's work to be wives, mothers, and keepers of the household. Leaving a relationship for a woman is an admission of career failure and, thus, is not taken lightly. An unsuccessful marriage is a subordinate concern for a man compared to a career failure.

Self-Esteem

More has been stated about the battered woman's self-esteem than probably any other variable. Researchers and clinicians who have interviewed or provided services to battered women repeatedly comment on the low self-esteem of battered women (Bell, 1977; Bowen, 1982; Brown & Brazzle, 1982; Carlson, 1977; Hilberman & Munson, 1977-78; Pagelow, 1981; Walker, 1977-78; 1978b, 1979, 1981, 1984; Wetzel & Ross, 1983).

From the few studies where instrumentation has been utilized conflicting results exist. In a comparison of 46 battered women to 12 non-battered women, Star (1978) found lower self-esteem with the battered women. Star, Clark, Goetz, and O'Malia (1979) found, through their study of 57 battered women, that battered women could be described as lacking in self-confidence, low in self-esteem, aloof, anxious, reserved, uneasy in social interactions, and critical or uncompromising.

Hartik (1978) examined 30 battered women compared to 30 non-battered women for personality characteristics and self-

concept. She found battered women to be lower in ego strength and self-esteem, with greater identity problems, than non-battered women. Overall the battered women were dissatisfied with themselves physically, morally, socially, and in relationship to their families. Her research indicated that battered women had a very difficult time maintaining even minimal self-esteem. In a comparison of 20 battered women from shelters to 20 non-battered women from the same socioeconomic status, Chan (1979) found the battered women to have lower self-esteem.

Conflicting results come from two studies. Brown and Brazzle (1982), reporting on the 40 abused women in shelters whom they studied, indicate that 42% of the women had high self-esteem. These authors believed it is inappropriate to assume that battered women have low self-esteem. Mitchell (1980) compared 16 nonabused women who were in therapy for psychological problems to 24 abused women who were in treatment for the abuse. The two groups did not differ in self-esteem, sex role stereotype, locus of control, or anxiety. What she did find, however, when studying within group differences among the battered women was that those who were less educated, unemployed, and severely and/or frequently abused were lower in self-esteem, more anxious, and more externally oriented. These studies not only suggest that battered women may not be lower in self-esteem than their nonbattered counterparts, but also that within group variances may distinguish among battered women.

Walker (1984) examined self-esteem in battered women
via a semantic differential scale on which they rated
themselves, women in general, and men in general. Although
the prediction was for low self-esteem, battered women
viewed themselves more favorably than they viewed women in
general or men in general. The difficulty with this
research was that the scale did not appear to be standar-
dized. It was impossible to tell how the battered women's
perceptions of themselves and others compared to other group
perceptions about themselves, women in general, and men in
general. Battered women in this case perceived themselves
more favorably than they perceived other groups, but how
does this compare with other groups' perceptions about them-
selves? Other groups' perceptions could be more elevated
than battered women's perceptions which would validate a
lower self-esteem comparatively for the battered women's
group.

Although self-esteem was not be addressed in this
study, more definitive examination of this factor is needed.

Resources/Occupational History

Martin (1976) was the first to emphasize that financial
dependence and unresponsive social systems are very real
explanations for why battered women remain with their
spouses. At the same time, actual research results (Gelles,
1976) results indicated that the fewer resources and less
power the abused woman had, the more likely she was to stay.
Resources have been determined to be any of several items,

e.g., employment status, having children under 5, income level. In the Gelles study (1976), the resource variable that best distinguished wives who obtain assistance from those who remain with the husband is holding a job. Many authors (Dobash & Dobash, 1977-78; Fleming, 1979; Schechter, 1982; Stacey & Shupe, 1983; Straus, Gelles, & Steinmetz, 1980; Walker, 1979, 1984; Wetzel & Ross, 1983), from their discussions and research with battered women, support the notion that financial dependence does contribute to keeping the battered woman trapped in the relationship. Of Stacey and Shupe's (1983) shelter residents who responded to why they did not leave the situation immediately after the first abuse incident, 30% suggested their economic dependence. Pagelow (1981) retested Gelles' (1976) earlier hypothesis regarding resources, along with the other variables Gelles looked at (severity of abuse, frequency, and family of origin child abuse history), and again found that fewer resources related directly to whether the woman stayed in the relationship.

Occupational underachievement in the husband or higher status in occupation by the wife have been found to increase the risk for spouse abuse to occur (Hornung, McCullough, & Sagimoto, 1981). Conflicting results regarding occupational history suggests that employment status does not have a correlation with whether the abused woman will leave the relationship (Rounsaville, 1978). A battered wife's objective marital dependency (no job, minimal income

potential, child-rearing role) is significantly related to severe violence (Kalmuss & Straus, 1982) while her subjective perception of her dependency is not related.

Clearly most research suggests that economic resources are related to whether the abused woman stays. Thus, economic resources was one of the variables studied here in relationship to the battered woman's destination once she leaves the shelter. The method utilized by Kalmuss and Straus (1982) was replicated here.

Children

Many researchers have commented on the impact the children and the parental relationship with the children, have on the decision making for the battering couple (Brown & Brazzle, 1982; Carlson, 1976; Gelles, 1983; Martin, 1976; Snell, Rosenwald & Robey, 1964; Stacey & Shupe, 1983; Straus, 1973).

Snell, Rosenwald, and Robey (1964) questioned wives who charged their husbands with assault and battery regarding their reasons for the action at that particular time, since the marriages were 12-20 years in length and had included other abuse incidents. The women in almost all the cases responded first that the children figured into their decision. Most common were responses describing the presence of an adolescent son, getting older, stronger, and more prone to be either retaliatory towards the father or negatively affected by the domestic disturbances.

Brown and Brazzle's (1982) sample indicated that a reason for not leaving among women was that they feared that the husbands would seek the families out and harm the children or the wives. Twenty-one percent of those in the Stacey and Shupe study (1983) who did not leave the home after the first abuse incident revealed the children and maintaining the family as their reason. The mother's intense attachment to and concern for her children has been noted (Carlson, 1977). Children have been cited as both the reason for leaving and the reason for staying (Cristall, 1978); although in this particular study, twice as often they were the reason for staying.

Where battered women were compared with non-battered women (Parker & Schumacher, 1977), there was no statistical difference between the number of children in either family. Additionally, when looking at battered women who have left the abuser compared to those who had not (Cristall, 1978), neither the age nor number of children appeared to be statistically different in either group. When the ages of the children are viewed as part of the definition for the women's resources (younger children being a limitation, older children being a potential resource because of their ability to be self-sufficient or assist in supporting the family), a strong correlation exists between a woman's limited resources and her remaining in the relationship (Pagelow, 1981). In another study (Snyder & Sheer, 1981) it was found no sociodemographic variables relating to the

children (e.g. age of children, number of children) as
singular variables were predictive of the woman's destina-
tion upon leaving a shelter. In the study reported herein
the researcher incorporated the role of children as a factor
in the battered women's destination choice, but subsumed
into the resource category as has been done by others
(Gelles, 1976; Kalmuss & Straus, 1982; Pagelow, 1981).

Locus of Control, Learned Helplessness

Walker (1979) theorized, based on her interview and
clinical experience with battered women, that women find it
difficult to escape an abusive relationship due to learned
helplessness. In later research she reported on her work to
test this hypothesis (Walker, 1984).

The learned helplessness phenomenon was identified and
most often studied in a laboratory setting with animals and
later with humans (cf. Seligman, 1975; Abramson, Seligman, &
Teasdale, 1978). Since an operational instrument had not
been developed to measure learned helplessness outside the
laboratory, Walker (1984) devised several methods to
indicate whether the learned helplessness phenomenon was
instrumental. A series of questions were combined into
scales, e.g., sexual abuse during childhood, childhood
health, and combined to form a single measure of childhood
contributors to learned helplessness. Also a measure of
learned helplessness within the battering relationship was
formulated by intercorrelating 15 indices from the interview
questionnaire utilized. Walker (1984) noted the reliability

of both measures as less than ideal (.57 and .67 respectively) and suggested the need for a better measure of this construct in future studies. In addition, she combined several state instruments as indices of current state related to learned helplessness. Included among them was locus of control (Levenson's Locus of Control Scales). She conducted path analyses to determine if either childhood learned helplessness or relationship learned helplessness was determinant of current state. Both measures appear to influence current state.

Learned helplessness theory has been linked with depression because of the perception by those experiencing it that they have no power or control over events in their lives (Abramson, Seligman, & Teasdale, 1978; Costello, 1978). A measure of perceived control, i.e., locus of control, was incorporated by Walker (1984) into her study. She expected battered women would attribute more control to external sources than norm groups would, both on scales measuring powerful others and chance locus of control. She also anticipated lower scores on internal locus of control compared to norms. Battered women, both in and out of battering relationships, did score higher than norm groups on chance locus of control. Battered women still in battering relationships, however, did not score higher than norm groups on the powerful others locus of control scale.

Walker (1984) postulated that a woman still cohabitating with the abuser may not wish to acknowledge the

batterer's control in her life, nor the unlikelihood of
changing him or the environment to prevent further abuse.
Battered women did, surprisingly, score significantly higher
than norm groups on internal locus of control, attributing
themselves as having substantial control over what happens
to them. The Levenson Locus of Control Scales were again
utilized in this research.

Authoritarianism and Monitoring

Neither authoritarianism nor monitoring have been
examined previously for their relationship as potential
determinants of battered women's destination. In fact, they
had not been investigated in relationship to woman battering
in general. In combination they represent salient features
of the theory on the roots of violence proposed by A. Miller
(1981, 1983, 1986). An examination of the results of
research on both factors suggested their fruitfulness for
study in this area.

Authoritarianism

As Rokeach (1960) theorized, an individual maintains an
open belief system when the need to know dominates and a
nonthreatening reality exists. A threatening reality causes
the individual to become closed in his or her beliefs, the
need to know diminishes, confusion occurs between the
information and the informant, and identification with
absolute authority takes place. Closing the belief system
distances the individual from his or her own anxiety. One
with a predominantly open belief system is a low dogmatic

(LD); a person having a predominantly closed belief system is a high dogmatic (HD).

High dogmatics indicate greater dependence on absolute authority, a greater vulnerability to be influenced by authority, and less discernment of the value of communications independent of the authority who delivers the communication (Bettinghaus, Miller, & Steinfatt, 1970; C.G. Kemp, 1963; Lazlo & Rosenthal, 1970; Powell, 1962). High dogmatics are more likely to adhere to a position supported by authority (McCarthy & Johnson, 1962). Low dogmatics are not differentially influenced by the authority of a communicator (Harvey & Hays, 1972) and they perceive authority figures more realistically, incorporating both positive and negative characteristics (C.G. Kemp, 1963). Low dogmatics are much less influenced by authority than high dogmatics (Ehrlich & Lee, 1969; Restle, Andrews, & Rokeach, 1964; Vacchiano, Strauss, & Hochman, 1969).

The close-minded person will avoid changing his or her environment or accepting new data and ideas (Vacchiano, Strauss, & Schiffman, 1968). The high dogmatic will focus on the future while minimizing the past or present (Castle, 1971; Jay, 1969; Rokeach, 1954, 1956; Rokeach & Bonier, 1960; Zurcher, Willis, Ikard, & Dohme, 1967). Rokeach (1954, 1956) suggested that this is done in order to create a sense of control regarding the course of life events. There is a direct relationship between authoritarianism and anxiety (cf. Byrne, Blaylock, & Goldberg, 1966; Castle,

1971; Norman, 1966; Smithers, 1970) and dogmatism as a defense mechanism (cf. Bernhardson, 1967; Hallenbeck & Lundstedt, 1966; D. Lee & Erhlich, 1971). In general, the high dogmatic can be characterized as having difficulty tolerating frustration and prone to conforming, while the low dogmatic is more tolerant of ambiguities and less accepting of traditional beliefs (Vacchiano, 1977). When information or a situation does not align with the high dogmatic's beliefs, he or she is threatened and avoidant (Hunt & Miller, 1968; G.R. Miller & Rokeach, 1968; Pyron, 1966). In general, close-minded individuals will recall less information when it is inconsistent and positively evaluate consistent information (Kleck & Wheaton, 1967). Low dogmatics are more likely to expose themselves to belief-discrepant information (Donohew, Parker, & McDermott, 1972).

<u>Monitoring</u>

Self-monitoring, as conceived by M. Snyder (1974), is observation and control of the self based on the cues one perceives from the situation. The construct involves two aspects: astute sensitivity to the expression and presentation of others and an ability to use the situational cues to monitor and present oneself accordingly (M. Snyder, 1974).

High self-monitoring individuals are skilled at controlling and modifying expressiveness and behavior to align with the situational cues for appropriateness. Low self-

monitoring individuals are less able or likely to modify
expressiveness and presentation to others (M. Snyder, 1979).
The expression of a low self-monitoring individual appears
to be more internally guided by his or her own feelings,
attitudes, and experiences (M. Snyder, 1974, 1979) rather
than by situational or interpersonal cues (M. Snyder &
Monson, 1975). Individuals high in self-monitoring notice
and accurately remember information about others more than
low self-monitoring individuals (Berscheid, Graziano,
Monson, & Dermer, 1976). Persons low in self-monitoring
spend less time and effort thinking about the contingencies
of a prospective date's behavior than those high in self-
monitoring (Berscheid, Graziano, Monson, & Dermer, 1976).
High self-monitoring persons keenly attend to the subtleties
of behavior and context and utilize the information to infer
intentions and predict behaviors of others (Jones &
Baumeister, 1976; Kulik & Taylor, 1979). High self-monitors
are skilled at accurately judging the intended meaning of
verbal expressions (Mill, 1984). Further, those who are
high in self-monitoring are especially skilled at reading
nonverbal expression and correctly determining underlying
affective experience and emotional states of others (Geizer,
Rarick, & Soldow, 1977; Krauss, Geller, & Olson, 1976).
High self-monitoring individuals have access to very rich
dispositional constructs organized around prototypes of
others; low self-monitors excel at giving rich, informative
descriptions of their own traits and dispositions (M. Snyder

& Cantor, 1980). Low self-monitoring individuals focus on information based on their inner states (M. Snyder & Tanke, 1976). A greater reliance on a partner's behavior as a guide to one's own behavior is characteristic of high self-monitors (Ickes & Barnes, 1977). High self-monitoring individuals connect their identities with their external environment and choose to enter more clearly defined situations rather than ambiguous ones (M. Snyder & Gangestad, 1982; Sampson, 1978).

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study was designed to distinguish between those
battered women who, following a shelter stay, did not return
to their abusers and those battered women who did return to
their abusers in terms of key variables drawn from previous
research (Gelles, 1976; Kalmuss & Straus, 1982; Pagelow,
1981; Walker 1979, 1984) and the psychodynamic theory of A.
Miller (1981, 1983, 1986). Specifically, the relationship
was studied between battered women's destination and
resources; number of previous separations; internal,
powerful others, and chance locus of control, authori-
tarianism; and monitoring. In Chapter III the research
methodology of the investigation is described. The chapter
includes the following: population and sample, the sampling
procedures, the instrumentation, data collection procedures,
and data analysis.

Population and Sample

The population base for this study was battered women
who resided in two battered women's shelters located in
Florida, the Gainesville and the Ft. Myers shelters, and the
three metropolitan Atlanta shelters. The Gainesville
shelter mainly served a 15-county area in north central
Florida. The Ft. Myers shelter mainly served a six-county

area in southwest Florida. Two of the Atlanta area shelters were in suburban locations: the Cobb county shelter, approximately 12 miles northwest of downtown Atlanta, and the Clayton County shelter, approximately 12 miles south of downtown Atlanta. These two shelters served mainly residents of their counties plus women and their children from several adjoining counties in the northwestern portion of Georgia. The third metro shelter was located in midtown-Atlanta mainly serving residents of urban Fulton and Dekalb counties, as well as occasionally women and their children from the adjoining metro counties. As is common with battered women's shelters throughout the United States, at times each of these shelters operated at capacity and placed women's names on a waiting list for admission. In the case of a woman facing imminent potential for severe violence personnel in each of these shelters worked with those in other shelters for immediate placement and, via law enforcement or other avenues, transported the woman to a distant shelter.

Battered women came to these shelters following telephone contact with the particular shelter to determine that they met the criteria for admission. The admissions criteria for each shelter was the same: the women must have been recently battered and be in need of safe shelter without available refuge. Battered women were admitted to the shelter at any time of the day or night, any day of the week, depending on when they sought assistance. Many women

who sought help from the shelters had exhausted financial and familial support.

The collection of demographic information allowed for a comparison of this sample to some demographic information from other known shelter samples. The demographic characteristics of women from these shelters did not differ significantly from those of shelter samples in other studies in the southeast or the nation (Bell, 1977; Carlson, 1977; Labell, 1979; Pagelow, 1977c, 1981; Stacey & Shupe, 1983). Although battering occurs across socioeconomic classes, shelter samples are usually more representative of lower and lower middle class socioeconomic classes; women with greater resources have other alternatives for safety (Pagelow, 1981; Stacey & Shupe, 1983). In the study reported herein, basic demographics including age, race or ethnic background, number of children, and residential address before entering shelter (to determine urban, suburban, or rural) were collected (Appendix A). One of the independent variables, number of previous separations, was also included on this portion of the questionnaire.

Many of the women who came to the shelters heard about the services via an intervening police officer, public service advertising, a friend or family, or the advertised battered women's hotlines. Referrals to the shelters could come from the emergency rooms of the hospitals in the area. In addition, other referrals were made by the community crisis hotlines, police, clergy, rape crisis programs,

women's health care clinics, and university and medical communities.

To be included in the study, the women must have been battered and must have completed 8 years of schooling according to their response on the shelter intake forms. The 8 years of schooling was deemed appropriate indication of a baseline ability to read and understand the instruments.

Sampling Procedures

The subjects for this study were a volunteer sample of battered women who utilized these shelters during the months of May through December 1987 and met the criteria for the study. Data were not collected every day at each of these shelters, but on the days that the data were collected all women in the shelter, except for those who had already participated, were asked to participate in the study. The sample size was 72 women.

During the days data were collected, all potential subjects admitted to the shelters were given a letter explaining the study, describing the criteria for inclusion, and inviting their participation (see Appendix B). The potential subjects were questioned to determine if they met the criteria for inclusion and, if so, were they willing to participate in the study. This procedure was continued until the pool of individuals who met the inclusion criteria and who agreed to participate totaled 78 women. Completed questionnaires and follow-up destinations were obtained on

72 of those 78 women; follow-up was not obtained on 6 women.
An additional 6 women who did not participate, either due to
choice or education requirements, and their destinations at
exit were noted. The reasons for their non-participation
were recorded. One woman, although she met the eighth-grade
completion requirement, did not possess adequate reading
skills to answer the questionnaire; she returned to her
abuser. Two women at two different shelters took the
questionnaires to complete, were interrupted in the process
(one for child rearing, the other to communicate with a
social service employee from another agency who was
assisting her) and did not complete the questionnaires or
make follow-up arrangements. Both left their shelters
hastily. One returned to the batterer and the other flew to
California to move in with her relatives. One woman was
incapable of completing the questionnaire due to disorienta-
tion and psychological disturbance, and she left the shelter
to be psychiatrically hospitalized. One woman did not
participate because of a language barrier; she was Spanish
speaking and reading. The researcher did not have a Spanish
version prepared for her use. She did not return to the
abuser.

Instruments

In all, four instruments with a combined total of 92
questions were used to gather the information on authori-
tarianism, monitoring, resources, and locus of control
(number of previous separations was answered by the subject

on the demographics questionnaire--Appendix A). This study was designed to use short to moderate length instruments administered by a trained administrator so as not to additionally burden these subjects who were already experiencing a crisis. Battered women usually enter the shelter immediately after what Walker (1979, 1984) has referred to as the acute battering incident. Many battered women have described how difficult it is to leave the home for an unknown refuge environment following such an emotionally charged incident (Martin, 1976; Pagelow, 1981; Walker, 1979, 1984). At that time battered women are fearful of the abusers, as well as afraid of the unknown, embarrassed to make the domestic problem public, and unsure of social support, emotional or otherwise. Knowing that the abuser might perceive the woman's actions of seeking safety and assistance for her and the family as escalation in the current conflict, the woman must muster a great deal of courage to seek shelter help. Battered women battle their own self-blame for the domestic difficulties (Walker, 1979) and often doubt that others will believe they have been abused (Rounsaville, Lifton & Bieber, 1979). Lengthy instrumentation asking the women to respond to many self-statements at this crisis juncture is thought by many (Dobash & Dobash, 1981, 1981; Schechter, 1982) to be intrusive and to debilitate crisis efforts aimed at supporting her decision to seek safety and get help for the family. With the additional consideration that

administering instrumentation to women in crisis is a
sensitive issue, the investigator chose the following four
measures.

Measure of Resources

For this investigation, the measure for resources was
the Resources Index (Appendix C) utilized by Kalmuss and
Straus (1982). It is the sum of scores on three dichotomous
variables: whether the woman is unemployed or not, whether
the woman has children at home of ages 5 or younger or not,
and whether her mate earns 75% or more of the total house-
hold income or not. The range for the values on this index
is 0 (low resources) through 3 (high resources). The
internal consistency of the Resources Index in the Kalmuss
and Straus study (1982) was .59, measured by Cronbach's
alpha coefficient of reliability.

Measure of Locus of Control

Locus of control was measured by the Levenson Locus of
Control Scales (Levenson, 1973) (Appendix D). The locus of
control construct describes individuals' causal beliefs
regarding reinforcements which occur to them. They may have
a generalized expectancy that reinforcements are contingent
upon their own behaviors (internal control). They may also
generally believe that reinforcements are contingent upon
forces outside their control, e.g., chance, fate, a deity,
luck, powerful others (external control). The Levenson
Locus of Control Scales are multidimensional, measuring
beliefs regarding personal control (Internal Scale),

powerful others (Powerful Others Scale), and fate or chance (Chance Scale). A person with a high I Scale score would believe that he or she has great deal of control over his or her life. A person with a high P Scale score generally ascribes powerful others as determining outcomes. A person with a high C Scale score perceives chance or fate as significantly contributory to events.

The Locus of Control Scales are comprised of 24 items, 8 per scale, although they are presented interspersed to subjects in one unified series. Responses are noted on a Likert Scale ranging from strongly disagree (-3) through strongly agree (+3) assigned to each statement. All of the items in the Levenson Scales are stated personally so that the respondent is being measured on his or her perceptions regarding control, not what he or she believes "people in general" think about control (Levenson, 1981).

Kuder-Richardson reliabilities for the I Scale range from .51 to .67, for the P Scale from .72 to .82, for the C Scale from .73 to .79 (Levenson, 1973, 1974; Wallston, Wallston, & DeVellis, 1978). Split-half reliabilities, utilizing the Spearman-Brown formula, are .62 for the I Scale, .66 for the P Scale, and .64 for the C Scale. Seven-week test-retest reliabilities are .66, .62, and .73 for the I, P, and C Scales (Lee, 1976).

The P and C Scales are both related to external locus of control, so it would be expected that in validity studies they would correlate to some extent with each other. In

fact, studies of their correlation range from .41 to .60
(Caster & Parsons, 1977; Levenson, 1973; Scanlan, 1979;
Wallston, Wallston, & DeVellis, 1978). Only minimal
correlation (-.25 to .19) has occurred between the P and C
factors with the I factor (Caster & Parsons, 1977; Levenson,
1973; Scanlan, 1979; Wallston, Wallston, & DeVellis, 1978).

The Rotter I-E scale is one of the original locus of
control scales and the most often referenced as the standard
in locus of control measurement. Convergent validity is
strongest between the C and I Scales with the Rotter I-E
Scale, ranging from .43 to .56 for the C factor and from
-.15 to -.41 for the I factor (Donovan & O'Leary, 1975;
Hall, Joestring, & Woods, 1977; Levenson, 1972).

There is negligible correlation between the Levenson
Scales and the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale.
In the two studies conducted (Levenson, 1972; Wallston,
Wallston, & DeVellis, 1978), the correlations to the
Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability Scale for the I Scale
were .04 and .09, for the P Scale .04 and .11, and for the
C Scale -.10 and .08.

Borrero-Hernandez (1979) noted several relationships
between the Levenson Scales and other personality variables.
The I Scale is positively related to measures of sociability
on the California Psychological Inventory (CPI). The C
Scale negatively relates to sense of well-being and
responsibility on the CPI and positively relates to guilt

proneness on the 16 PF. The P Scale correlates signifi-
cantly with suspiciousness on the 16 PF.

Measure of Authoritarianism

Authoritarianism was measured by the Rokeach Dogmatism
Scale, Form E (Rokeach, 1956). This is a 40-item scale (see
Appendix E). Responses can range from "I agree very much"
(+3) through "I disagree very much" (-3) on a Likert-type
Scale. The close-minded or high dogmatic (HD) person
believes that authority is absolute, accepts or rejects
others based on their agreement or disagreement with
authority, and maintains this cognitive system which
protects the individual for anxiety. The low dogmatic (LD)
person does not hold authority as absolute, accepts or
rejects other on different premises than their alignment
or disagreement with authority, and has more tolerance for
ambiguity and the anxiety that can accompany changing
environments (Vacchiano, 1977).

The construct validity of authoritarianism has been
supported in numerous studies. A common core of authori-
tarian factors has been noted between the California F Scale
and the Dogmatism Scale (Kerlinger & Rokeach, 1966),
although the Dogmatism Scale has been found to be more
independent of ideological bias than the California F (Warr,
Lee, & Joreskog, 1969). Many studies support the Dogmatism
Scale as a measure of authoritarianism (Barker, 1963;
Costin, 1965; Hanson, 1968, 1970; Plant, 1960; Rokeach,
1967). High dogmatic persons show a greater dependence on

authority than do low dogmatic persons (cf. Bettinghaus,
Miller, & Steinfatt, 1970; Kemp, 1963; Powell, 1962; Restle,
Andrews, & Rokeach, 1964; Vidulich & Kaiman, 1961).

Measure of Monitoring

Monitoring in this study was measured by the Snyder
Self-Monitoring Scale (M. Snyder, 1974) (see Appendix F).
It is a 25-item scale which measures whether a person
monitors external cues from others to guide his or her own
self presentation or if he or she presents and acts in
accordance with his or her own affective state (M. Snyder,
1974). Low self-monitoring individuals are more knowledge-
able about their own dispositions, attitudes, and traits;
high self-monitoring persons are much less dispositionally
guided or discerning (M. Snyder & Cantor, 1980).

The KR-20 reliability of the Self-Monitoring Scale is
.70; test-retest reliability is .83 (M. Snyder, 1974). The
Self-Monitoring Scale measures a different construct than
those measured by the Marlowe-Crowne Social Desirability
Scale, the MMPI Psychopathic Deviate Scale, the c
(Chameleon) scale of the performance style test, the
Christie and Geis Machiavellianism scale, and the Alpert-
Haber Achievement Anxiety Test (M. Snyder, 1974). Numerous
studies support the validity of the Self-Monitoring Scale
utilizing peer ratings and samples which include college
students, insurance and sales personnel, psychiatric
patients, and stage actors (Caldwell & O'Reilly, 1982;
Gabreyna & Arkin, 1980; Ickes & Barnes, 1977; Lippa, 1978;

M. Snyder, 1974; M. Snyder & Monson, 1975; M. Snyder &
Swann, 1976; M. Snyder & Tanke, 1976).

Data Collection Procedures

Data were collected by either a trained, full-time
staff person from a shelter, the researcher, or a research
associate. At the Ft. Myers, Gainesville, and Cobb shelters
data were collected by a trained full-time staff person. At
the Clayton shelter and during the latter months of collec-
tion at the Cobb shelter, the data were collected by the
researcher. At the downtown metro Atlanta shelter the data
were collected by either the researcher or the trained
research associate. The investigator met individually with
each of the selected staff persons and the research associ-
ate to train them in the procedures. Training involved the
following components: (a) use of the letter of introduction
to the subject inviting participation, (b) determination that
potential subject meets criteria for inclusion, (c) obtaining
informed consent, (d) benefits/risks of participation,
(e) methods to assure confidentiality, (f) instruments and
instructions, (g) answering questions during administration,
(h) procedures for follow-up contact, and (i) recording data
on the master chart. Each of the individual sessions was
2 to 3 hours long. To determine that each administrator
understood and could uniformly perform data collection,
the investigator conducted a follow-up session after the
participation of at least the first two subjects. The
investigator monitored the data collection throughout the

period by contact with the trained administrators and the shelter staffs and the review of the data as they were being collected. Additionally, the administrators collecting the data could call the investigator at any time.

Battered women were admitted to these shelters during any of the 24 hours in a day. Given up to 48 hours to emotionally adjust following the acute battering incident, each woman met with a staff member to complete an intake questionnaire and participate in an initial intake interview. Completing the questionnaire was handled as Part II of the shelter's intake procedure.

Following completion of Part I of the intake procedure, which was the shelter's standard intake, the administrator had the potential subject read the letter of introduction (Appendix B). The administrator discussed requisites for participation in the study and potential benefits and risks of participation. Benefits of participation included the following: (a) The subject contributes to research which increases the understanding of the dynamics of battering and adds to theory which can help end conjugal violence against women; (b) the subject assists the participating shelter(s) in increasing the knowledge about their clients so they can provide more effective services to battered women and their children; (c) the subject aids those helping battered women, shelters, legal, criminal, and other social service agencies, to better understand their clients and to dispel stereotypes and myths about battered women; and (d) the subject assists

in providing information to battered women which increases
self-understanding and decreases feelings of isolation,
guilt, and blame. Risks and/or drawbacks of participation
were the time required to complete the questionnaire, the
adherence to the shelter's follow-up procedure following
departure, responding to questions which solicit personal
opinions when the subject was in a post-traumatic time
period, and reliance on the shelter and principal investi-
gator to assure confidentiality. The administrator recorded
on the master chart the subject number, date of administra-
tion, and whether the woman qualified and agreed to parti-
cipate in the study. If the potential subject was not
participating, the administrator recorded whether this was
due to not meeting the requisites or a refusal to partici-
pate.

Each woman volunteering to participate in the study was
given a packet which included instructions for the instru-
ments, the instruments themselves, one informed consent form,
and a manila envelope for return of the packet (see Appendix
G). At this time the subjects completed the demographic
questionnaire and the paper and pencil instruments required
for this investigation. The demographic questionnaire
contained 6 items and took a few moments to complete. The
combined instruments contained 92 items total and took from
45 to 90 minutes to complete.

The administrator was present with the subject through-
out data collection and trained to answer any questions which

arose regarding individual items or the study. The administrator was trained to do this in a way which maintained the integrity of the instrumentation and purpose of the investigation, yet assisted the woman to answer the questionnaire adequately. The administrator collected the completed questionnaire and recorded on the master chart that the following had been totally completed: the informed consent form, the 6 demographic items, the 3 resources items, the 24 locus of control items, the 40 dogmatism items, and the 25 monitoring items.

Subjects' names were not placed on the instruments to ensure confidentiality. Each packet was given a code number which was paired with the respondent's name on a separate listing.

The trained administrator, following collection of the completed questionnaire, discussed and then recorded the preferred and contingent options for follow-up contact. The woman could select options from the following methods: (a) telephoning the shelter during a prearranged time, (b) returning to the shelter for a face-to-face contact (often women return to the shelter to pick up mail, including aid checks, which are addressed to the women at the shelter), (c) communicating through a third party who agreed to provide the necessary information about the woman to the shelter, (d) returning a stamped post card addressed to the shelter's post office box with a question to indicate destination on it, (e) responding to a follow-up letter mailed to the woman

in a plain envelope including a pre-addressed, postaged reply form, and (f) agreeing to receive a telephone call from the shelter.

During the shelter stay, the women participated in peer counseling sessions, met with staff for individual help, and established contact with other social service agencies that provided a more permanent source of food, housing, and transportation when needed. If the women came to the shelter with children, the children also participated in appropriate services, e.g., play therapy. Following a variable length of stay, each woman made the decision regarding her destination following her temporary refuge at the shelter. All shelters had been required by their funding agencies to provide up to 30 days of safe refuge. On occasion, a woman will be planning her own housing away from the abuser and the housing would not be ready for her immediately at the end of the 30 days. In those exceptional cases the shelters granted extensions. Each woman met with a staff member to discuss her departure plans.

At the appropriate time, the trained administrator, in concert with program staff, initiated the follow-up procedure and recorded the destination as known during the follow-up period (i.e., from 2 to 6 weeks following departure) on the master chart. Working with a battered woman when she leaves a shelter program and returns to live with the abuser necessitates certain precautions. While the battered woman is at the shelter, attempts are made to keep the shelter

location a secret and the abuser uninformed about the woman's whereabouts. These efforts are taken to increase the possibility of providing a safe place for women and their children. Increased police surveillance is some- times requested by shelters when the dangerousness and lethality of the abuser is judged to be particularly great or the batterer issues threats. Shelter personnel do not release names of women or children housed there. When the woman returns to the abuser, contact from the shelter staff needs to be discreet to continue efforts of safety provision for both the battered woman and the shelter program.

Data Analysis

The researcher posed the following hypotheses.

1. There is no difference in authoritarianism between battered women who do not return to the abuser following a shelter stay and those who do return.

2. There is no difference in monitoring between battered women who do not return to the abuser following a shelter stay and those who do return.

3. There is no difference in resources between battered women who do not return to the abuser following a shelter stay and those who do return.

4. There is no difference in number of previous separations between battered women who do not return to the abuser following a shelter stay and those who do return.

5. There is no difference in locus of control (inter-nal, powerful others, chance) between battered women who do

not return to the abuser following a shelter stay and those who do return.

6. There is no relationship between authoritarianism monitoring, resources, number of previous separations, and locus of control (internal, powerful others, chance) and the destination of battered woman following a shelter stay.

Hypotheses one through five were analyzed using one-way analyses of variance. Hypothesis six was analyzed using logistic regression. An alpha level for significance was established at .05 as a conventional level of significance. Initially, a Bartlett's test was utilized to determine departures from normality. The results of this test suggested that the sample was not within the range of a normal distribution; therefore, although either discriminant analysis or logistic regression was considered for analysis, logistic regression was chosen since it is less sensitive to departures from normality.

Using logistic regression analysis the researcher can distinguish between two groups and produce a predictive equation. In logistic regression analysis the variables are weighed and linearly combined the variables mathematically to force the optimum distinction between groups.

Logistic regression in a two-group case is the same as a multiple regression where the dependent variable (in this study not returning to the abuser or returning to the abuser) takes on the values of 1 and 0 and maximally discriminates between the two groups (Kerlinger & Pedhazer, 1973).

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

The results are presented in this chapter. Descriptive statistics were used to characterize the sample group while the research hypotheses were analyzed with one-way analysis of variance (hypothesis one through five) and logistic regression (hypothesis six).

Demographic Information

Demographic information is presented here in order to characterize the overall sample of battered women, as well as subsets of the sample: those who did not return to the batterers and those who did return following the stays at the shelters. The total sample included 72 women. Those who did not return to the batterers included 42 women; those who did return to the abusers numbered 30. In addition to the variable data, general demographic information was gathered on each subject: age of subject, race or ethnic background of subject, number of children, whether subject had left mate before or not, and city of residence before coming to shelter.

A breakdown of the study participants by age appears in Table 4-1. The sample was predominantly in their 20s and 30s (86%), with the mean age being 30.32 years (SD = 7.32); this is quite similar to shelter samples from other

Table 4-1

Age of Sample

Age	Returned to Abuser n (%)		Did not Return n (%)		Total Sample n (%)	
17-20	1	(3.3)	3	(7.1)	4	(5.6)
21-25	6	(20.0)	9	(21.4)	15	(20.8)
26-30	12	(40.0)	12	(28.6)	24	(33.3)
31-35	2	(6.7)	7	(16.7)	9	(12.5)
36-40	6	(20.0)	8	(19.0)	14	(19.4)
41-45	2	(6.7)	3	(7.1)	5	(6.9)
46-50	0		0		0	
51-55	1	(3.3)	0		1	(1.4)

research (see Appendix H). Mean age for battered women who returned to their abusers was 30.80 years (SD = 7.67); mean age for those who did not was 29.98 years (SD = 7.14).

A breakdown of the study participants by race appears in Table 4-2. The sample had a large percentage of non-whites (41.7%) which is common for samples including inner city shelters (e.g., D.K. Snyder & Fruchtman, 1981; D.K. Snyder & Scheer, 1981) (see Appendix H). Because there appeared to be an effect due to race, a chi-square analysis was conducted. With a x^2 = 16.86, p = 0.000, which is significant for a = .05 and d.f. = 1, an effect due to race

Table 4-2

Race of Sample

Race	Returned to Abuser n (%)	Did Not Return n (%)	Total Sample n (%)
White	26 (86.7)	16 (38.1)	42 (58.3)
Nonwhite	4 (13.3)	26 (61.9)	30 (41.7)

was found i.e., white participants returned to their abusers more often than their nonwhite counterparts. This is discussed in Chapter 5.

The participants' numbers of children are categorized in Table 4-3. The average number of children for the total sample was 1.74 (SD = 1.30). Battered women who returned to the abusers in the study had an average of 1.63 children (SD = 1.45); average number of children for the abused women who did not return to the batterers was 1.81 (SD = 1.19).

A breakdown of the study participants by whether they had left their mates before or not is presented in Table 4-4. Nearly equal percentages of participants had left their mates before regardless of destination in this study.

Table 4-3

Number of Children

Number of Children	Returned to Abuser n (%)	Did Not Return n (%)	Total Sample n (%)
0	8 (26.7)	7 (16.7)	15 (20.8)
1	7 (23.3)	10 (23.8)	17 (23.6)
2	7 (23.3)	12 (26.6)	19 (26.4)
3	6 (20.0)	10 (23.8)	16 (22.2)
4	1 (3.3)	3 (7.1)	4 (5.6)
5	0	0	0
6	1 (3.3)	0	1 (1.4)

Table 4-4

Previous Separations

Previous Separations	Returned to Abuser n (%)	Did Not Return n (%)	Total Sample n (%)
No	9 (30.0)	9 (21.4)	18 (25.0)
Yes	21 (70.0)	33 (78.6)	54 (75.0)

Population size of the city in which the study partici-
pants lived before coming to the shelter is categorized in
Table 4-5. An effect related to population appeared likely,
so a chi-square analysis was conducted. A ^{2} = 10.03, p =
0.018, signifies an effect for a = .05 and d.f. = 3; bat-
tered women from the small towns were more likely to return
to the abuser and as the population of residence increased,
battered women were less likely to return to their mates.
This result is considered further in Chapter 5.

The Rokeach Dogmatism Scale to measure authori-
tarianism, Snyder Self-Monitoring Scale was used to measure
monitoring, the Kalmuss & Straus (1982) 3-item method to
measure resources, a straightforward item on the

Table 4-5

Population of City in Which Subject Resided Before Shelter

Population Size	Returned to Abuser n (%)	Did Not Return n (%)	Total Sample n (%)
0-20,000	17 (56.7)	10 (23.8)	27 (37.5)
21,000-50,000	6 (20.0)	9 (21.4)	15 (20.8)
51,000-200,000	4 (13.3)	8 (19.0)	12 (16.7)
over 200,000	3 (10.0)	15 (35.7)	18 (42.9)

questionnaire to determine number of previous separations, and the Levenson Locus of Control Scales to measure internal (I), powerful others (P), and chance (C) loci of control. The means and standard deviations for the total sample and the subsets according to destination can be found in Table 4-6. Because a potential effect was likely related to the 75%-or-more-of-income-earned-by-mate item (one of the three from the resource measure) and destination, a chi-square analysis was conducted. Since ^{2} = 4.46, p = 0.035, which is significant for a = .05 and d.f. = 1, it was found that women whose abusers earn 75% or more of the family income returned to their mates more often than would be expected. Race was not a significant factor impacting this relation-ship.

Analysis of Hypotheses One Through Five

The first five hypotheses were tested using one-way ANOVA tests. The first hypothesis was that there would be no difference in the authoritarianism scores between battered women who, following shelter stays, did not return to their abusers and battered women who did return. The one-way ANOVA was not significant at the .05 level (F = 2.44, p = 0.123); therefore, the null hypothesis was not rejected.

The second hypothesis was that there would be no difference in the monitoring scores between battered women who, following shelter stays, did not return to their batterers and abused women who did return. The one-way

Table 4-6

Means and Standard Deviations of Study Measures

Measures	Returned to Abuser M	Returned to Abuser SD	Did Not Return M	Did Not Return SD	Total Sample M	Total Sample SD
Authoritarianism	152.72	23.20	163.60	32.88	159.08	29.64
Monitoring	8.50	3.75	9.25	3.75	9.00	3.71
Resources	1.17	0.99	1.38	0.85	1.29	0.91
Not Employed	0.40	0.50	0.40	0.50	0.40	0.49
Children 5 or Younger at Home	0.40	0.50	0.36	0.48	0.38	0.49
75% or More Income Earned by Mate	0.37	0.49	0.62	0.49	0.51	0.50
Number of Previous Separations	2.33	2.11	3.17	3.70	2.82	3.15
Internal Locus of Control	35.63	5.64	36.02	6.81	35.28	6.31
Powerful Others Locus of Control	16.07	9.40	17.69	10.53	17.43	10.01
Chance Locus of Control	20.60	9.36	16.43	9.36	18.17	9.52

ANOVA was not significant at the .05 level (F = 0.93, p = 0.338); therefore, the null hypothesis was not rejected.

The third hypothesis was that there would be no difference in the resources scores between battered women who, following shelter stays, did not return to their abusive mates and those battered women who did return to their batterers. The one-way ANOVA was not significant at the .05 level (F = 0.97, p = 0.328); therefore, the null hypothesis was not rejected.

The fourth hypothesis was that there would be no difference in the number of previous separations between battered women who did not return to their abusers after the shelter stays and those women who did return to the abusive mates. The one-way ANOVA was not significant at the .05 level (F = 1.23, p = 0.271); therefore, the null hypothesis was not rejected.

The fifth hypothesis was that there would be no difference in internal, powerful others, and chance locus of control scores between sheltered battered women who did not return to their batterers and those who did return. Each of the Levenson Locus of Control Scales is independent of the other. The one-way ANOVA for internal locus of control scores was not significant at the .05 level (F = 0.16, p = 0.689). The one-way ANOVA for powerful others locus of control scores was not significant at the .05 level (F = 0.07, p = 0.796). The one-way ANOVA for chance locus of control

scores was not significant for at the .05 level (F = 3.48, p = 0.066). Since ANOVAs were not significant for all locus of control scores, the null hypothesis was not rejected.

Analysis of Hypothesis Six

The sixth hypothesis was tested using logistic regression. The sixth hypothesis was that there would be no relationship between authoritarianism, monitoring, resources, number of previous separations, locus of control (internal, powerful others, and chance), and the destination of battered women following shelter stays. The logistic regression analysis is presented in Table 4-7. The regression analysis indicated that the variables, in general, were not good predictors of destination following shelter stay. Therefore, the null hypothesis was not rejected.

Summary

No significant differences between the groups occurred on the hypothesized variables of authoritarianism, monitoring, resources, number of previous separations, internal locus of control, powerful others locus of control, and chance locus of control. Some distinctive differences were indicated in this sample between battered women who returned to their abusers and battered women who did not, specifically in the demographic data of race, population of city where subject resided, and husband's percentage of income. No significant relationship was established between these variables and the destination of battered women following a shelter experience.

Table 4-7

Logistic Regression Model of the Relationship Between Destination and the Research Variables

Parameter	Estimate	Standard Error	Chi-Square	Probability
Intercept	0.200	0.811	0.06	0.8053
Authoritarianism	-0.332	0.350	0.90	0.3431
Monitoring	-0.587	1.498	0.45	0.6948
Resources	-0.062	0.234	0.07	0.7896
Number of Previous Separations	-0.023	0.068	0.12	0.7309
Internal Locus of Control	0.020	0.035	0.32	0.5721
Powerful Others Locus of Control	-0.005	0.025	0.04	0.8475
Chance Locus of Control	0.037	0.028	1.75	0.1858

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

<u>Summary</u>

The aim in this study was to determine key variables
which would distinguish between battered women who did not
return to abusive mates and battered women who did following
their stays at refuge shelters. The variables, drawn from
previous research (Gelles, 1976; Kalmuss & Straus, 1982;
Pagelow, 1981; Walker, 1979, 1984) and from the psycho-
dynamic theory of A. Miller (1981, 1983, 1986), were
resources, number of previous separations, internal locus of
control, powerful others locus of control, chance locus of
control, authoritarianism, and monitoring.

A total of 72 battered women who stayed at shelters in
Florida and Georgia agreed to participate in the study and
completed questionnaires while they were at the shelters.
Destination information, i.e., whether they were living with
the abuser or not, was recorded during the follow-up period
of 2 to 6 weeks after their departures from the shelters.

The demographic information from the questionnaires
indicated that battered women who did not return to their
abusers and battered women who did were similar to each
other in several ways. Most of the women were in their 20s
and 30s, had probably left their mates before, and either

had no children or, if they had children, had less than four. Of the 41.7% of the sample who were nonwhites, 86.7% did not return to their abusers, and this was equally distributed across shelters and city sizes. Women in this sample who were from small towns were more likely to return to their mates (63% returned from towns of 20,000 population or less) and women who were from larger cities were more likely not to return to their mates (66% did not return from cities of 51,000 to 200,000 population and 83.3% did not return from cities over 200,000 population).

No significant differences (p < .05) were found between abused women who did not return to their batterers and abused women who did on any of the variables identified. No significant relationship was found between all of the variables and destination.

Limitations of the Study

Several limiting factors impact interpretation of results from this study. First, to what populations are the results generalizable? Using five shelters increased the possibility that the study could be generalized to sheltered, battered women. Regional or other characteristics of this sample may reduce generalizability, however. Additionally, this sample in most cases did not include women who entered and departed the shelter very quickly, i.e., within the first 48 hours. A very high percentage of those women return to their abusive households, so it is with caution that these results can be

said to reflect that unique group of battered women using shelters. It is possible that those women could be characterized quite differently from even those participants in this study who returned to batterers after the first 48 hours. Including responses from the "quick exit" women might have impacted findings as well as generalizability. The volunteer nature of the sample and the self-report, particularly for destination, may also present limitations.

Secondly, destination of battered women is assumed, in this study, to reflect two divergent realities: living with an abuser or not living with an abuser. Some women may go back to spouses and, although rare, not receive abuse again. And some women who do not return to their mates may select, again though rare, to form relationships with other abusive partners. In fact, this research was not designed to include differing typologies of women within either of the destination categories.

A third limitation exists in the operational definition for destination in this study being 2 to 6 weeks following the shelter experience. Some women categorized as not returning to their abusers by this definition will indeed move back in with their mates sometime later. The researcher selected the time while battered women are at shelters as an appropriate time to perceive psychological differences between the two groups. It could be that the differences between the two groups would be more profound during other times, e.g., 6 months away from abuser or while

currently living with abuser. Although selecting another point in time for administration of the questionnaire may be as helpful to pinpoint the relevance of the specific theories being applied here to the whole problem of woman abuse, it would not have suited the purpose of establishing determinants of destination following shelter stay.

Discussion of Results

What might be suggested by the lack of a significant relationship between the identified variables and battered women's destinations? Several ideas are presented.

Variables which were drawn from previous studies, although not couched in a theoretical framework, were resources and number of previous separations. In this study even though the overall resources measure did not distinguish between the two groups, one item from the measure, whether the mate earned 75% or more of the family income, did have a significant relationship with destination. Battered women in this study whose abusers earned 75% or more of the family income were likely to return to cohabitation with the batterers. A plethora of questions across studies indicate researchers' interest in assessing the economic resource picture which the battered woman faces and how this impacts her ability to free herself from a battering relationship. The findings from this study, and those from others, suggest that understanding economic impact in a consistent, pertinent way has yet to be determined.

Number of previous separations was not a distinguishing variable between the groups in this study. This contrasts with the findings by D.K. Snyder and Scheer (1981) that previous separations were a predictor of destination. It is possible that their findings are not generalizable since different findings occurred here, or that they have operationalized previous separations differently than this researcher. Okun (1986) and Walker (1979) expressed beliefs that repeated separations were likely before the woman would finally terminate the relationship. This may be so, but the quality and nature of these separations, preceding and subsequent events, may be so unique, that a simple quantitative tally will rarely be predictive. Data gathering on frequency and severity of abuse have been partial attempts to define the complex context of the battering relationship and the separations; researchers, through simple quantitative analysis of these factors, have failed to distinguish between women with abusers or women who have ended battering relationships (Pagelow, 1977c, 1980, 1981; D.K. Snyder & Scheer, 1981).

The locus of control variables were included to investigate a component of the "learned helplessness" model applied to battered women by Walker (1979). Her research (1984) included, "contrary to expectations" (p. 80), the findings that battered women saw themselves as having a great deal of control over their lives, more so than how women in general viewed their internal control.

Additionally, the battered women in her sample who were
living with abusers did not believe, to a significantly
greater extent, that powerful others exercised a lot of
control over them compared to the beliefs of a norm group of
women or battered women who were no longer with batterers.
If learned helplessness were operant, one would expect that
battered women who returned from shelters to abusive
partners would have significantly less internal locus of
control and significantly greater powerful others locus of
control than battered women who did not return to batterers.
Findings from this investigation were not significant in
distinguishing between the two groups. The means and
standard deviations from this study can be compared to
results from the Walker study and Levenson's norms in
Appendix I.

The relationship of A. Miller's (1981, 1983, 1986)
psychodynamic theory to battered women's destination was
accomplished by utilizing measures of authoritarianism and
monitoring. If Miller's theory, as operationalized here,
were applicable, the expectations would be twofold. First,
battered women who did not return to their abusers would
have received lower scores on the Rokeach Dogmatism Scale as
evidence that they had shed their idealized view of author-
ity (i.e., the male head of household, the marriage institu-
tion). Secondly, battered women who did not return to
batterers would be more likely to monitor their own feelings
and needs and monitor others much less when compared to

battered women who subsequently returned to batterers, and so the scores on the Snyder Self-Monitoring Scale would be lower for battered women who did not return. The results were not as expected; battered women from the two destinations did not score significantly differently on either measure.

Several plausible explanations are available to illuminate the lack of significant findings. In this study battered women who did return to their mates were slightly less dogmatic than battered women who didn't. However, the mean scores for both groups would not suggest greater or lesser dogmatism when compared to a normative sample of female college students (see Appendix I). It is possible that battered women, in general, are no more or less rigid and devoted to authority than other groups in society. This is compatible with A. Miller's (1983, 1986) beliefs that most people in today's world are socialized into an extreme acceptance of parents and authority. So it might be rare to expect significantly low dogmatism scores from any sizable percentage of any group in society. Although this researcher disagrees with A. Miller's (1986) suggestion that one would need two in-depth psychoanalytic analyses to "crack" this idealization of authority, it may be ambitious to expect that battered women at shelters have come to understand the great imperfections of authoritarian rule. Society has colluded historically in maintaining the near-infallibility of authority in one form or another.

Battered women who come to shelters and establish themselves independently from their abusers may be transferring their allegiances from one form of authority to another. Loyalty to the authority of marriage and the husband may become loyalty to the authority of the shelter program, the social service network, and/or, at times, family and friends, who encourage separation from and dissolution of the abusive conjugal relationship. Thus, separation from the abuser may not be concomitant with any lessening of a rigid, authoritarian belief system.

The battered women with differing destinations after shelter experience could not be distinguished based on their monitoring of others and mediating of their own behavior according to external cues. In fact, battered women appeared to have very similar levels of monitoring compared to a female norm sample (see Appendix I). A. Miller's theory specifically addresses the excessive need to achieve and perform for others, conditioned and reinforced in childhood as the right thing to do, at the cost of under-development of one's abilities to perceive one's own needs and feelings. The self monitoring scores suggest that battered women in either group had no less orientation towards the monitoring of others. This instrument may be inadequate, however, in measuring any increase in self-directedness, self empathy, monitoring of the self, and mediating one's behavior due to internal cues. It was the researcher's assumption that an increased internal moni-

toring would be evidenced by a decreased external monitoring. In fact, women who monitor others and have developed the skill to do so may not do so less in order to add the monitoring of selves more. Therefore, this instrument may have been inadequate to gauge the increase in internal monitoring and whether it distinguishes between the two groups of battered women.

Two demographic characteristics did distinguish between abused women not returning to the batterers and abused women who did. Why have nonwhite battered women not returned to their abusers more often than their white counterparts? Perhaps there is greater support from the nonwhite woman's family of origin and community to leave an abusive relationship; that support could be manifested in housing or economic resources, emotional caring, or less rigid sanctions regarding marital dissolution. This finding is contrary to other studies (Pagelow, 1981; D.K. Snyder & Scheer, 1981) and requires further investigation.

The other demographic factor of note was related to population size where the battered woman resided before coming to the shelter. Battered women from the small towns may have been more likely to return to the abusers for several reasons: (a) The mores of small towns are more conventional and therefore reinforce families staying together regardless of the conditions. (b) Less safety, anonymity, and other living options are available in small towns to protect a battered woman who leaves. (c) Less

income and employment opportunities may be available to the woman to assist her in supporting herself and a family. (d) The woman may perceive fewer options for other meaningful intimate relationships. In addition, battered women in urban settings have greater access to subsidized housing or additional sheltering, other women who are in the same or similar situations, and urban amenities such as more prevalent mass transit and child care to assist them in gaining autonomy. Little previous research has been done investigating this aspect.

The findings from this research support the beliefs (Dobash & Dobash, 1979; Hilberman, 1980; Hilberman & Munson, 1977-78; Martin, 1976; Schechter, 1982) that the personalities of women who are in or remain in abusive relationships are not somehow abnormal or different than other women. The scores on authoritarianism, locus of control, and monitoring, three personality measures, did not distinguish between battered women who (potentially) were ending their abusive relationships and those who were continuing in them. Nor did their scores appear to be different from sample comparison norms (Appendix I).

Recommendations for Future Research

The results of this investigation have implications for future research. Given both the limitations and factors cited during the discussion, all presented in this chapter, the following suggestions are made to guide future study in this area:

1.   Tracking battered women's location at later checkpoints would enhance the accuracy of determining who maintained their independence. Also, follow-ups in which information is gathered regarding the women's current relationship will help to determine if she is still in an abusive relationship.

2.   Specifically develop instrumentation to operation-alize A. Miller's theory more closely. This instrumentation could then be utilized in any number of areas of research. What was obvious to this investigator is that there was little available option for measuring one's ability and frequency of self monitoring and self empathy.

3.   Conduct further investigations related to city size and race to further understand their impact or connec-tion to destination.

4.   A standard measure or measures to assess resources is needed. The economic factor is judged subjectively to be important in battering. But researchers using various, nonstandard methods, without adequate analysis of relia-bility and validity, fail to prove or disprove the impor-tance of this factor.

5.   Although neither learned helplessness nor A. Miller's psychodynamic theory provided assistance in distinguishing battered women related to destination, continued study of both with battered women and the phenome-non of battering is recommended. This was the initial attempt to apply A. Miller's theory to this area, and to

abandon its potential relevance at this point would be premature.

      6.   More investigation regarding battered women's perceptions of authority is warranted. Battered women may fluctuate between idealizing authority sometimes and, at others, serving the needs of those in authority while secretly feeling derisive. This would be consistent with A. Miller's earliest work (1981) where she addressed the borderline personality in detail.

      7.   It is highly possible that certain typologies of battered women exist as subsets of the destination cate- gories. Of the many studies done related to domestic vio- lence, in only one (D.K. Snyder & Fruchtman, 1981) were battered women considered heterogenous, not homogenous. Looking at characteristics of heterogeneity could greatly increase the potential of actually predicting or determining destination or when a woman will take abuse no more.

APPENDIX A

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

1. CODE NUMBER:_____ (assigned by staff)

2. Please list your age:_____

3A. Please list your race/ethnic background using the codes

    below:_____

    A - Asian   N - Native American
    B - Black   W - White
    H - Hispanic   O - Other

3B. If you listed "O" for other in 3A, please specify:

    _____

4A. Number of children in your household:_____

4B. List gender and ages of children: (M/F)   (Years Old)

                                        _____   _____

                                        _____   _____

                                        _____   _____

                                        _____   _____

                                        _____   _____

Use other side if additional space is needed.

5A. Have your left your mate before: _____YES   _____NO

5B. If yes, number of times:_____

6. City in which you resided before coming to shelter:

    _____

APPENDIX B

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

Dear Shelter Resident,

I would like to request your participation in a
research study I am conducting. I am a doctoral student in
the Counseling Psychology program at the University of
Florida in Gainesville, Florida. I am conducting a study on
women who stay at battered women's shelters. Specifically,
my purpose is to examine the following factors: level of
resources, beliefs about control and authority, and moni-
toring skills through a questionnaire.

I am attempting to locate women who have been battered
by their mates (husband, boyfriend, ex-husband), are staying
at a battered women's shelter, and have lived with the mate
before coming to the shelter. In order to participate,
women must have completed an eighth grade education.

Participation in this study involves two things:
1) Completion of a questionnaire containing 92 items during
your stay at the shelter, and 2) participation in the
shelter's follow-up procedure at six weeks after you leave
the shelter. All responses are anonymous with each indi-
vidual receiving a code number.

As much as I would like to compensate each woman for
her participation, the most I can offer is my gratitude for
helping in a study that I hope will contribute to the safety
of battered women. To those who are interested, a copy of
the results of the study will be available through your
shelter.

A designated shelter staff member is available to
answer any questions you might have and to find out if you
are interested in participating.

Thank you for taking the time to read this letter. I
hope that you will agree to participate. I am eager to have
your involvement in this study.

                               Sincerely,

                               Joanne F. DeMark

APPENDIX C

MEASURE OF RESOURCES

Measure of Resources

1. Are you currently employed?   No____ Yes____

2. Do you have children of age five or
   younger at home?   No____ Yes____

3. What percentage of the total family
   income is earned by your mate?   _____%

APPENDIX D

LEVENSON LOCUS OF CONTROL SCALES

Levenson Locus of Control Scales

Directions: Below is a series of attitude statements. Each represents a commonly held opinion and there are no right or wrong answers. You will probably disagree with some items and agree with others. We are interested in the extent to which you agree or disagree with such matters of opinion.

Read each statement carefully. Then indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree by placing a number in the left margin next to each statement. The numbers and their meaning are indicated below:

+1 : I agree slightly   -1 : I disagree slightly
+2 : I agree somewhat   -2 : I disagree somewhat
+3 : I agree strongly   -3 : I disagree strongly

First impressions are usually best in such matters. Read each statement, decide if you agree or disagree and the strength of your opinion, and then place a number in the space provided. Give your opinion on every statement.

If you find that the numbers to be used in answering do not adequately indicate your own opinion, use the one which is closest to the way you feel. Your responses will be kept confidential.

____ 1. Whether or not I get to be a leader depends mostly on my ability.

____ 2. To a great extent my life is controlled by accidental happenings.

____ 3. I feel like what happens in my life is mostly determined by powerful people.

____ 4. Whether or not I get into a car accident depends mostly on how good a driver I am.

____ 5. When I make plans, I am almost certain to make them work.

____ 6. Often there is no chance of protecting my personal interest from bad luck happenings.

____ 7. When I get what I want, it's usually because I'm lucky.

____ 8. Although I might have good ability, I will not be given leadership responsibility without appealing to those in positions of power.

____ 9. How many friends I have depends on how nice a person I am.

____ 10. I have often found that what is going to happen will happen.

____ 11. My life is chiefly controlled by powerful others.

____ 12. Whether or not I get into a car accident is mostly a matter of luck.

____ 13. People like myself have very little chance of protecting our personal interests when they conflict with those of strong pressure groups.

____ 14. It's not always wise for me to plan too far ahead because many things turn out to be a matter of good or bad fortune.

____ 15. Getting what I want requires pleasing those people above me.

____ 16. Whether or not I get to be a leader depends on whether I'm lucky enough to be in the right place at the right time.

____ 17. If important people were to decide they didn't like me, I probably wouldn't make many friends.

____ 18. I can pretty much determine what will happen in my life.

____ 19. I am usually able to protect my personal interests.

____ 20. Whether or not I get into a car accident depends mostly on the other driver.

____ 21. When I get what I want, it's usually because I worked hard for it.

____ 22. In order to have my plans work, I make sure that they fit in with the desires of people who have power over me.

____ 23. My life is determined by my own actions.

____ 24. It's chiefly a matter of fate whether or not I have a few friends or many friends.

APPENDIX E

DOGMATISM SCALE (FORM E)

Dogmatism Scale (Form E)

<u>Directions</u>: The following is a study of what the general public thinks and feels about a number of important social and personal questions. The best answer to each statement below is your <u>personal</u> <u>opinion</u>. We have tried to cover many different and opposing points of view; you may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others; whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many people feel the same as you do.

Mark each statement in the left margin according to how much you agree or disagree with it. Please mark every one. Write +1, +2, +3, or -1, -2, -3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1 : I agree a little   -1 : I disagree a little
+2 : I agree on the whole   -2 : I disagree on the whole
+3 : I agree very much   -3 : I disagree very much

____   1. The United States and Russia have just about nothing in common.

____   2. The highest form of government is a democracy and the highest form of democracy is a government run by those who are most intelligent.

____   3. Even though freedom of speech for all groups is a worthwhile goal, it is unfortunately necessary to restrict the freedom of certain political groups.

____   4. It is only natural that a person should have a much better acquaintance with ideas one believes in than with ideas one opposes.

____   5. A person on one's own is a helpless and miserable creature.

____   6. Fundamentally, the world we live in is a pretty lonesome place.

____   7. Most people just don't give a "damn" for others.

____   8. I'd like it if I could find someone who would tell me how to solve my personal problems.

112

_____ 9. It is only natural for a person to be rather fearful of the future.

_____ 10. There is so much to be done and so little time to do it in.

_____ 11. Once I get wound up in a heated discussion I just can't stop.

_____ 12. In a discussion I often find it necessary to repeat myself several times to make sure I am being understood.

_____ 13. In a heated discussion I generally become so absorbed in what I am going to say that I forget to listen to what the others are saying.

_____ 14. It is better to be a dead hero than to be a live coward.

_____ 15. While I don't like to admit this even to myself, my secret ambition is to become a great person, like Einstein, or Beethoven, or Shakespeare.

_____ 16. The main thing in life is for a person to want to do something important.

_____ 17. If given the chance I would do something of great benefit to the world.

_____ 18. In the history of humankind there have probably been just a handful of really great thinkers.

_____ 19. There are a number of persons I have come to hate because of the things they stand for.

_____ 20. A person who does not believe in some great cause has not really lived.

_____ 21. It is only when a person devotes oneself to an ideal or cause that life becomes meaningful.

_____ 22. Of all the different philosophies which exist in this world there is probably only one which is correct.

_____ 23. A person who gets enthusiastic about too many causes is likely to be a pretty "wishy-washy" sort of person.

_____ 24. To compromise with our political opponents is dangerous because it usually leads to the betrayal of our own side.

_____ 25. When it comes to differences of opinion in religion we must be careful not to compromise with those who believe differently from the way we do.

_____ 26. In times like these a person must be pretty selfish if one considers primarily one's own happiness.

_____ 27. The worst crime a person could commit is to attack publicly the people who believe in the same thing one does.

_____ 28. In times like these it is often necessary to be more on guard against ideas put out by people or groups in one's own camp than by those in the opposing camp.

_____ 29. A group which tolerates too much difference of opinion among its own members cannot exist for too long.

_____ 30. There are two kinds of people in the world: those who are for truth and those who are against truth.

_____ 31. My blood boils whenever a person stubbornly refuses to admit one is wrong.

_____ 32. A person who thinks primarily of one's own happiness is beneath contempt.

_____ 33. Most of the ideas which get printed nowadays aren't worth the paper they are printed on.

_____ 34. In this complicated world of ours the only way we can know what is going on is to rely on leaders or experts who can be trusted.

_____ 35. It is often desirable to reserve judgment about what's going on until one has had a chance to hear the opinions of those one respects.

_____ 36. In the long run the best way to live is to pick friends and associates whose tastes and beliefs are the same as one's own.

_____ 37. The present is all too often full of unhappiness. It is only the future that counts.

_____ 38. If a person is to accomplish one's mission in life, it is sometimes necessary to gamble "all or nothing at all."

____ 39. Unfortunately, a good many people with whom I have discussed important social and moral problems don't really understand what's going on.

____ 40. Most people just don't know what's good for them.

APPENDIX F

SELF-MONITORING SCALE

Self-Monitoring Scale

Directions: The statements in the following pages concern your personal reactions to a number of different situations. No two statements are exactly alike, so consider each statement carefully before answering. If a statement is TRUE or MOSTLY TRUE as applied to you, circle TRUE following the statement. If a statement is FALSE or NOT USUALLY TRUE as applied to you, circle FALSE following the statement.

It is important that you answer as frankly and as honestly as you can. Your answers will be kept in the strictest confidence.

1. I find it hard to imitate the behavior of others.   TRUE/FALSE

2. My behavior is usually an expression of my true inner feelings, attitudes, and beliefs.   TRUE/FALSE

3. At parties and social gatherings, I do not attempt to do or say things that others will like.   TRUE/FALSE

4. I can only argue for ideas which I already believe.   TRUE/FALSE

5. I can make impromptu speeches even on topics about which I have almost no information.   TRUE/FALSE

6. I guess I put on a show to impress or entertain people.   TRUE/FALSE

7. When I am uncertain how to act in a social situation, I look to the behavior of others for cues.   TRUE/FALSE

8. I would probably make a good actor.   TRUE/FALSE

9. I rarely need the advice of my friends to choose movies, books, music.   TRUE/FALSE

10. I sometimes appear to others to be experiencing deeper emotions than I actually am.   TRUE/FALSE

11. I laugh more when I watch a comedy with others than when alone.   TRUE/FALSE

12. In a group of people I am rarely the center of attention.   TRUE/FALSE

13. In different situations and with different people, I often act like very different persons.   TRUE/FALSE

14. I am not particularly good at making other people like me.   TRUE/FALSE

15. Even if I am not enjoying myself, I often pretend to be having a good time.   TRUE/FALSE

16. I'm not always the person I appear to be.   TRUE/FALSE

17. I would not change my opinions (or the way I do things) in order to please someone else or win their favor.   TRUE/FALSE

18. I have considered being an entertainer.   TRUE/FALSE

19. In order to get along and be liked, I tend to be what people expect me to be rather than anything else.   TRUE/FALSE

20. I have never been good at games like charades or improvisational acting.   TRUE/FALSE

21. I have trouble changing my behavior to suit different people and different situations.   TRUE/FALSE

22. At a party I let others keep the jokes and stories going.   TRUE/FALSE

23. I feel a bit awkward in company and do not show up quite so well as I should.   TRUE/FALSE

24. I can look anyone in the eye and tell a lie with a straight face (if for a right end.)   TRUE/FALSE

25. I may deceive people by being friendly when I really dislike them.   TRUE/FALSE

APPENDIX G

LETTER OF INSTRUCTION/INFORMED CONSENT LETTER

Dear Shelter Resident,

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my study on the factors related to battered women's destination following a shelter stay. Enclosed you will find an informed consent form for your signature and the questionnaire for you to complete. Please complete the questionnaire and return it to the shelter staff. Your prompt response will be appreciated. Please ask the designated staff member if you have any questions.

Thank you again for your interest and participation.

Sincerely,

Joanne F. DeMark

Informed Consent Form
University of Florida
Department of Counselor Education

Subject's Name:_____

Project Title: <u>Determinants of Battered Women's Destination</u>
                <u>Following a Shelter Stay</u>

Principal Investigator: Joanne F. DeMark Date:_____

I agree to participate in the research as explained below:

> The aim of this study is to examine some factors
> related to the battering of women. Specifically,
> I am looking at level of resources, beliefs about
> control and authority, and monitoring skills. The
> women will need to complete a questionnaire and
> participate in a shelter follow-up procedure. The
> time required to complete the questionnaire is
> approximately 45-90 minutes.

> There is no monetary remuneration for participating in
this study.

> Please feel free to ask any questions which you may
have at any time.

> The above stated nature and purpose of this research,
including discomforts and risks involved (if any) have been
explained to me. Furthermore, I understand that this
investigation may be used for educational purposes which may
include publication. I also understand that subjects will
not be identified by name in any reporting or publication.
I understand that I may withdraw my consent at any time
without prejudice.

> This information will be kept confidential within legal
limits (or to the extent provided by law).

> I have read and understand the procedures described
above. I agree to participate in the procedure and I have
received a copy of this description.

Signed_____

> I have defined and fully explained this research to the
participant whose signature appears above.

Signed_____

APPENDIX H

COMPARISON DEMOGRAPHICS

Table H-1

Comparison Demographics from Other Battered Women Studies

Characteristic	Okun Study (1986)	Pagelow Study (1981)	Snyder & Fruchtman Study (1981)
N	300	350	89
Shelter Sample	100%	90.6%	100%
Location	Michigan	California & Florida	Detriot
Mean Age	27.7	29.9	29.2
Age Range	16-55	17-68	17-58
Average Number of Children	1.84	-----	2.3
White	237 (79%)	271 (78%)	30 (34%)
Nonwhite	63 (21%)	77 (22%)	59 (66%)
Left Mate Before	59.7%	80.0%	68.0%
Returned to Abuser	----	----	----
Did Not Return	----	----	----

Snyder & Scheer Study (1981)	Stacey & Shupe Study (1983)	Star et al. Study (1979)	Walker Study (1984)
74	538	57	403
100%	100%	80%	----
Detroit	Texas	Florida	Colorado & Surrounding Region
30.0	----	32.0	32.2
-----	----	17-54	18-59
-----	----	----	2.02
27 (36%)	343 (64%)	40 (70%)	321 (86%)
47 (64%)	195 (36%)	17 (30%)	51 (14%)
70.3%	----	----	----*
41 (55%)	----	----	----
33 (45%)	----	----	----

*25% of sample were currently living with abuser.

APPENDIX I

COMPARISON NORMS FOR LOCUS OF CONTROL,
AUTHORITARIANISM, AND MONITORING

Table I-1

Locus of Control Comparison Norms

	This Study			Walker (1984) Study			Levenson Norms
	Returned to Abuser	Did Not Return	Total Sample	Living With Abuser	Independent	Total Sample	
Internal							
N	30	42	72	94	292	386	48
M	35.63	36.02	35.28	41.87	41.33	41.46	35.46
SD	5.64	6.81	6.31	7.13	6.79	6.88	7.41
Powerful Others							
N	30	42	72	92	291	383	48
M	16.07	17.69	17.43	17.52	18.17	18.01	14.64
SD	9.40	10.53	10.01	10.78	9.39	9.39	9.73
Chance							
N	30	42	72	94	289	383	48
M	20.60	16.43	18.17	17.25	17.41	17.37	13.38
SD	9.36	9.36	9.52	9.995	9.32	9.48	9.05

Table I-2

Authoritarianism and Monitoring Comparison Norms

Comparison	This Study			Norms
	Returned to Abuser	Did Not Return	Total Sample	
Authoritarianism				
N	30	42	70	1310
M	152.72	163.60	159.08	163.56
SD	23.20	32.88	29.64	25.47
Monitoring				
N	30	42	70	128
M	8.50	9.25	9.00	8.44
SD	3.75	3.75	3.71	6.89

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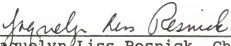
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Joanne F. DeMark was born on March 4, 1949, in New
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was the first Rape Victim Advocate for the Eighth Judicial
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and Physical Abuse Resource Center. She completed her M.Ed.
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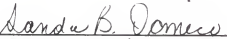tion, community agency track, in 1979.

Ms. DeMark began her doctoral studies in counseling
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I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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